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OF
MODERN HISTORY;

COMPREHENDING,
ON A NEW PLAN,

THE MOST REMARKABLE REVOLUTIONS AND
EVENTS, AS WELL AS THE MOST EMINENT
AND ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTERS, OF MO-
DERN TIMES;

WITH A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS,
ARTS AND SCIENCES,

FROM THE
IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHS AND VANDALS, AND
OTHER NORTHERN NATIONS, UPON THE ROMAN
EMPIRE,

TO THE
CONCLUSION OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

DESIGNED FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT and ENTERTAINMENT
OF
Y O U T H.

By the Rev. JOHN ADAMS, A.M. *Rev.*

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci. HOR.

L O N D O N :

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IT is the business of an able Historian to exhibit manners, as well as facts and events; for certainly whatever displays the state and life of mankind, in different periods, and illustrates the progress of the human mind, is more useful and interesting, than the detail of sieges and battles. To engage my Readers to the study of History, written upon this plan, is the design of the following Performance. It is a Compilation from the most celebrated Historians; such as Hume, Robertson, Goldsmith, Guthrie; and Ruffel, Author of the History of Modern Europe, a late publication of very great merit.



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T H E

THE
FLOWERS
OF
MODERN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE DEATH
OF AUGUSTUS, TO THE IRRUPTION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

ROME, from the time of Augustus, became the most despotic empire that ever subsisted in Europe. To form an idea of their government, we need only to recal to our mind the situation of Turkey at present. It is of no importance therefore to consider the character of the Emperors, since they had no power but what arose from a
B mercenary

mercenary standing army; nor to enter into a detail with regard to the transactions of the court, which were directed by that caprice, cruelty, and corruption which universally prevail under a despotic government.

When it is said that the Roman republic conquered the world, it is only meant of the civilized part of it, chiefly of Greece, Carthage, and Asia. A more difficult task still remained for the emperors, to subdue the barbarous nations of Europe, the Germans, the Gauls, the Britons, and even the remote corner of Scotland; for though these countries had been discovered, they were not effectually subdued by the Roman generals. These nations, though rude and ignorant, were brave and independent. It was rather from the superiority of their discipline, than of their courage, that the Romans gained any advantage over them. The Roman wars, with the Germans, are described by Tacitus; and from his accounts, though a Roman, it is easy to discover with what bravery they fought, and with what reluctance they submitted to a foreign yoke. From the obstinate resistance of the Germans, we may judge of the difficulties the Romans met with in subduing the other nations of Europe. The contests were on both sides bloody; the countries of Europe



rope were successively laid waste, the inhabitants
 perished in the field, many were carried into fla-
 very, and but a feeble remnant submitted to the
 Roman power. This situation of affairs was ex-
 tremely unfavourable to the happiness of mankind.
 The barbarous nations, indeed, from their inter-
 course with the Romans, acquired some taste for
 the arts, sciences, language, and manners of their
 new masters. These however were but miserable
 consolations for the loss of liberty, for being de-
 prived of the use of their arms, for being over-
 awed by mercenary soldiers kept in pay to restrain
 them, and for being delivered over to rapacious
 governours, who plundered them without mercy.
 The only circumstance which could support them
 under these complicated calamities, was the hope
 of seeing better days.

C H A P. II.

OF THE IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHs AND
 VANDALS, AND OTHER BARBARIANS.

THE Roman empire, now stretched out to
 such an extent, had lost its spring and force. It

contained within itself the seeds of dissolution; and the violent irruption of the Goths and Vandals, and other Barbarians, hastened its destruction. These fierce tribes, who came to take vengeance on the empire, either inhabited the various provinces of Germany, which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over the vast countries of the north of Europe, and north-west of Asia, which are now inhabited by the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, the subjects of the Russian empire, and the Tartars. They were drawn from their native country by that restlessness, which actuates the minds of the Barbarians, and makes them rove from home in quest of plunder or new settlements.

The first invaders met with a powerful resistance from the superior discipline of the Roman legions; but this, instead of daunting men of a strong and impetuous temper, only roused them to vengeance. They return to their companions, acquaint them with the unknown conveniencies and luxuries that abounded in countries better cultivated, or blessed with a milder climate than their own; they acquaint them with the battles they had fought, of the friends they had lost, and warm them with resentment against their opponents. Great bodies of armed men (says an elegant

gant historian, in describing this scene of desolation), with their wives and children, and slaves and flocks, issued forth, like regular colonies, in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of Barbarians. These in their turn pushed forward into more fertile countries, and, like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them. Wherever the Barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood: They ravaged or destroyed all around them: They made no distinction between what was sacred, and what was profane: They respected no age, nor sex, nor rank. If a man was called upon to fix upon the period, in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great, A. D. 395, to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, A. D. 571. The contemporary authors, who beheld that scene of desolation, labour, and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. "The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations," are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

C H A P. III.

OF THE SEPARATION OF THE WESTERN AND
EASTERN PROVINCES.

CONSTANTINE, who was Emperor about the beginning of the fourth century, and who had embraced Christianity, changed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. This occasioned a prodigious alteration. The western and eastern provinces were separated from each other, and governed by different sovereigns. The withdrawing the Roman legions from the Rhine and the Danube, to the east, threw down the western barriers of the empire, and laid it open to the invaders.

- Rome (now known by the name of the Western Empire, in contradistinction to Constantinople, which, from its situation, was called the Eastern Empire), weakened by this division, becomes a prey to the barbarous nations. Its ancient glory, vainly deemed immortal, is effaced, and Odoacer, a Barbarian chieftain, is seated on the throne of the Cæsars. These irruptions into the empire were gradual and successive. The immense fabric of the Roman empire was the work of many ages, and several centuries were employed

employed in demolishing it. The ancient discipline of the Romans, in military affairs, was so efficacious, that the remains of it descended to their successors, and must have proved an overmatch for all their enemies, had it not been for the vices of their Emperors and the universal corruption of manners among the people. Satiated with the luxuries of the known world, the Emperors were at a loss to find new provocatives. The most distant regions were explored, the ingenuity of mankind was exercised, and the tribute of provinces expended upon one favourite dish. The tyranny, and the universal depravation of manners, which prevailed under the Emperors, or, as they are called, Cæsars, could only be equalled by the barbarity of those nations who overcame them.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons, a German nation, were masters of the southern, and more fertile provinces of Britain; the Franks, another tribe of Germans, of Gaul; the Goths, of Spain; the Goths and Lombards, of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. Scarcely any vestige of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts, or literature remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses,

new languages, and new names of men and countries, were every where introduced.

How far this change is to be lamented, may be matter of much dispute. The human species was reduced to such a degree of debasement by the pressure of Roman despotism, that we can hardly be sorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting, at the same time, that this revolution was the work of nations so little enlightened by science, or polished by civilization; for the Roman laws, though somewhat corrupted, were yet, in general, the best that human wisdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were still superior to any thing found among rude nations, or which those who spurned them produced for many ages.

The contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements, is not wholly, however, to be ascribed to their ignorance, nor the suddenness of the revolution, to their desolating fury. The manners of the conquered must come in for a share. Had not the Romans been in the lowest state of national degeneracy, they might surely have civilized their conquerors. Had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws.

Many

Many of the northern leaders were men of great abilities; and several of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans; but they were justly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example, and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwise.

They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the stately building, and burying in its ruins the finest works of human invention: they ate out of vessels of wood, and made the vanquished be served in vessels of silver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expensive pleasure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to saunter, or indolence to loll; and they pastured their herds, where they might have raised a luxurious harvest.

They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; because they not unplaussibly, though somewhat falsely, concluded, from the dastardliness of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue, will never dare to meet a sword with an undaunted eye.

Upon the same principle, they rejected the Roman jurisprudence. It reserved nothing to the vengeance of man. They therefore not unphilosophically thought, it must rob him of his active powers; nor could they conceive how the person injured could be satisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injustice. Hence all those judicial combats, and private wars, which, for many ages, desolated Europe.

CH A P. IV.

OF MAHOMET.

THE character of Mahomet forms a very singular phenomenon in the history of mankind. He was a native of Mecca, a city of that division of Arabia, which, for the luxuriance of its soil, and happy temperature of its climate, has ever been esteemed the loveliest and sweetest region in the world, and is distinguished by the epithet of Happy.

He was born in the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian XI. Emperor of Constantinople.

Though

Though descended of mean parentage, illiterate, and poor, Mahomet was endowed with a subtle genius, like those of the same country, and possessed a degree of enterprize and ambition, peculiar to himself, and much beyond his condition. He had been employed in the early part of his life by an uncle, Abuteleb, as a factor, and had occasion, in this capacity, to travel into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He was afterwards taken into the service of a rich merchant, upon whose death he married his widow, Cadiga, and, by her means, came to be possessed of great wealth, and of a numerous family.

During his peregrinations into Egypt and the East, he had observed the vast variety of sects in religion, whose hatred against each other was strong and inveterate, while, at the same time, there were many particulars, in which the greater part of them were agreed. He carefully laid hold of these particulars, by means of which, and by addressing himself to the love of power, riches, and pleasure, passions universal among them, he expected to raise a new system of religion, more general than any which had been hitherto established. In this design he was assisted by a Sergian monk, whose libertine disposition had made him forsake his cloister and profession, and engage in the ser-

vice of Cadiga, with whom he remained as a domestic, when Mahomet was taken to her bed. This monk was perfectly qualified, by his learning, for supplying the defects, which his master, for want of a liberal education, laboured under, and which, in all probability, must have obstructed the execution of his design. It was necessary, however, that the religion they proposed to establish should have a divine sanction; and for this purpose, Mahomet turned a calamity, with which he was afflicted, to his advantage. He was often subject to fits of the epilepsy, a disease which those whom it afflicts, are desirous to conceal. Mahomet gave out, therefore, that these fits were trances, into which he was miraculously thrown by God Almighty, and during which he was instructed in his will, which he was commanded to publish to the world. By this strange story, and by leading a retired, abstemious, and austere life, he easily acquired a character for superior sanctity among his acquaintance and neighbours.

C H A P. V.

OF THE DOCTRINES TAUGHT BY MAHOMET.

WHEN Mahomet thought himself sufficiently fortified by the numbers, and the enthusiasm of his followers, he boldly declared himself a prophet, sent by God into the world, not only to teach his will, but to compel mankind to obey it. As we have already mentioned, he did not lay the foundation of his system so narrow, as only to comprehend the natives of his own country. His mind, though rude and enthusiastic, was enlarged by travelling into distant lands, whose manners and religion he had made a peculiar study. He proposed that the system he established should extend over all the neighbouring nations, to whose doctrines and prejudices he had taken care to adapt it.

Many of the inhabitants of the eastern countries were at this time much addicted to the opinions of Arius, who denied that Jesus Christ was co-equal with God the Father, as is declared in the Athanasian creed.

Egypt and Arabia were filled with Jews, who had fled into these corners of the world, from the persecution

persecution of the emperor Adrian, who threatened the total extinction of that people.

The other inhabitants of these countries were Pagans. These, however, had little attachment to their decayed and derided idolatry; and, like men, whose religious principle is weak, had given themselves over to pleasure and sensuality, or to the acquisition of riches, in order to be the better able to indulge in the gratifications of sense, which, together with the doctrine of predestination, composed the sole principles of their religion and philosophy.

Mahomet's system was exactly suited to these three kinds of men. To gratify the two former, he declared that there was one God, who created the world, and governed all things in it; that he had sent various prophets into the world to teach his will to mankind, among whom Moses and Jesus were the most eminent; but the endeavours of these had proved ineffectual, and God had therefore now sent his last and greatest prophet, with a commission more ample than what Moses or Christ had been entrusted with. He had commanded him not only to publish his laws, but to subdue those who were unwilling to believe or obey them; and, for this end, to establish a kingdom upon earth, which should propagate the divine law throughout

throughout the world; that God had designed utter ruin, and destruction, to those who should refuse to submit to him; but, to his faithful followers, had given the spoils and possessions of all the earth, as a reward in this life, and had provided them hereafter a paradise of all sensual enjoyments, especially those of love; that the pleasures of such as died, in propagating the faith, would be peculiarly intense, and vastly transcend those of the rest. These, together with the prohibition of drinking strong liquors (a restraint not very severe in warm climates), and the doctrine of predestination, were the capital articles of Mahomet's creed.

C H A P. VI.

OF THE SUCCESS OF MAHOMETANISM.

THE articles of the Mahometan religion were no sooner published, than great numbers of the prophet's countrymen embraced them with implicit faith. They were written by the priest we formerly mentioned, and compose a book called the

the Koran, or Alcoran, by way of eminence, as we say the Bible, which means The Book. The person of Mahomet, however, was familiar to the inhabitants of Mecca; so that the greater part of them were sufficiently convinced of the deceit. The more enlightened and leading men entered into a design to cut him off; but Mahomet, getting notice of their intention, fled from his native city to Medina. The fame of his miracles and doctrine was, according to custom, greatest at a distance, and the inhabitants of Medina received him with open arms. From this flight, which happened in the six hundred and twenty-second year of Christ, the forty-fourth year of Mahomet's age, and the tenth of his ministry, his followers, the Mahometans, compute their time, and the æra is called, in Arabic, Hegira; that is, the Flight.

Mahomet, by the assistance of the inhabitants of Medina, and of others, whom his insinuation and address daily attached to him, brought over all his countrymen to a belief, or at least to an acquiescence in his doctrines. The speedy propagation of his system among the Arabians, was a new argument in its behalf among the inhabitants of Egypt and the east, who were previously disposed to it. Arians, Jews, and Gentiles, all forsook
their

their ancient faith, and became Mahometans. In a word, the contagion spread over Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia; and Mahomet, from a deceitful hypocrite, became the most powerful monarch in his time. He died in the year of Christ 629, leaving two branches of his race, both esteemed divine among their subjects. These were the caliphs of Persia and Egypt, under the last of which Arabia was included. The former of these turned their arms to the east, and made conquests of many countries. The caliphs of Egypt and Arabia directed their ravages towards Europe, and under the name of Saracens or Moors, (which they obtained, because they entered Europe from Mauritania, in Africa, the country of the Moors) reduced most of Spain, France, Italy, and the islands in the Mediterranean.

In this manner did the successors of that impostor spread their religion and conquests over the greatest part of Asia, Africa, and Europe; and they still give law to a very considerable part of mankind.

C H A P. VII

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

THE first Christian monarch of the Franks, according to the best French historians, was Clovis, who began his reign in the year of our Saviour 468, from which period the French history exhibits a series of great events; and we find them generally engaged in domestic broils, or in foreign wars.

In the year 800, Charlemagne, king of France, who was the glory of those dark ages, became master of Germany, Spain, and part of Italy, and was crowned king of the Romans by the Pope. He divided his empire by will among his sons, which proved fatal to his family and posterity.

Charlemagne is worthy of the highest admiration, whether we consider his abilities, his great actions, his extensive views, his incredible activity, the wisdom of his government, or even his virtues. Though he was engaged in many wars, he was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happiness of his subjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his constant study. He frequently
convened

convened the national assemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and state. His attention extended to the most distant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. He established the excellent custom of sending into the provinces commissioners to examine the conduct of the dukes by whom they were governed, and the counts who were vested with the judicial power; to receive complaints, to check oppressions, and to maintain good order. These royal envoys paid their visits every three months, and frequently made their appearance at Rome, where their authority awed even the popes.

As the clergy were the only men who had any tincture of knowledge, it is not to be wondered, that they were continually loaded with favours by a prince, who was a friend to learning, as well as to religion. He employed the bishops in all affairs, associated them with the counts in the administration of justice, and, in conjunction with them and the lords, composed his book of civil and canonical laws; which, however, it must be acknowledged, are too numerous, and contain abuses mixed with good laws. He established the tithes, in lieu of the lands detained from the church; an impost which was long a source of murmurs.

But,

But, on the other hand, he prohibited the bishops from bearing arms, enjoining them to apply to study, and confine themselves to their proper vocation. In a word, he endeavoured to restore ecclesiastical discipline to its vigour; and his want of success was the strongest demonstration, that the evil was incurable. The submission of the clergy to his orders, was no less a proof of his skill in the science of government.

If Charlemagne, like the Greek Emperors, valued himself on his skill in theology, at least his genius was not confined within the narrow circle of vain subtleties, but aspired to the great and useful in every species. He created a naval force, in order to oppose the incursions of the Normans, a formidable and piratical nation, who already insulted the kingdom, and ravaged it after his death. He attempted to join the ocean with the Black Sea by a canal of communication between the Rhine and the Danube. How advantageous might this work have been for trade? But, at that time, France could furnish no man of sufficient capacity to put it in execution.

This great prince was no less amiable in private life, than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model
of

of œconomy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. "For shame!" said he to some of his nobles, who were finer dressed than the occasion required, "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women; or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for show, not use." On such occasions he appeared himself in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general, his dress was plain, and his table frugal.

Charlemagne died at Aix-la Chapelle, his usual residence, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire seemed to die with him. To govern such an extent of territory required a genius equal to that monarch's.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE SCOTS AND PICTS.

MUCH time has been spent in enquiring whence the Scots and Picts emigrated, and many disputes

disputes have arisen on the subject. The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, that they were two tribes of the native Britons, who, at different times, had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chusing liberty and barren mountains, rather than fertile plains and slavery; yet some plausible conjectures have been offered to prove, that the Scots were a colony from Ireland, though of the same Celtic origin. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been a brave and warlike people, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-mach for the effeminate and dispirited Britons. The Britons, indeed, were a very singular instance of the debasing effects of despotism. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than our ancient countrymen. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military discipline, they struggled long with the Roman power, and were only subdued at last by reason of their want of union. But after a period of subjection, when the the exigences of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this island, and resign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conscious of their inability to protect themselves, and wanting resolution to attempt it, they

they would gladly have lived in security and slavery. They had therefore recourse, again and again, to their conquerors; and the Romans, before they finally abandoned the island, assisted the Britons in rebuilding the wall of Severus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and was esteemed by the Romans a necessary barrier, first against the Caledonians, and afterwards against the Scots and Picts.

C H A P. IX.

OF THE INCURSIONS OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS INTO FRANCE.

THE name of Normans, or men of the North, was given to the inhabitants of ancient Scandinavia, or the present kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. From those countries originated several German nations, which settled in the Roman Empire. These tribes preserved the Celtic manners, which were the same as the Scythian, simple, hardy, ferocious, and calculated for making them dreadful conquerors. Their religion corresponded

corresponded with their manners. Their supreme god was Oden. Human victims were sacrificed to him. His rewards were believed to be reserved for those who slew the greatest number of warriors in battle. The happiness to which they aspired, was to intoxicate themselves with beer in his hall. The skulls of their slain enemies were the precious cups which were to be used in their infernal carousals.

How was it possible for innumerable nations to transform the Father of Nature, the infinitely good Being, into a sanguinary and destroying tyrant? The reason is, that men, immersed in ignorance, form a divinity according to their own taste, and ascribe to him the same passions with themselves. If any of these barbarians reasoned, he must inevitably plunge into Atheism, as he could not but reject monstrous opinions, and had no idea of a pure and infinite spirit.

The grand principle of the Celtæ, particularly the Scandinavians, was, that force made the foundation of right, and that victory was a proof of justice. They referred every thing to war, by the spirit of which they were solely animated, and hastened from one expedition to another, in order to amass booty.

Fatigues,

Fatigues, wounds, and arms, were in some measure, sports of their infancy and youth. Even the name of fear was prohibited to be mentioned in the most dreadful dangers. The women, as well as the men, despised death; to which they not only submitted with intrepidity, but frequently affected to meet it with marks of joy.

Charlemagne prevented the irruptions of these northern tribes, by establishing a naval force, which guarded the mouths of the rivers. Under Louis Debonnaire they spread an alarm in France; and under Charles the Bald, committed dreadful ravages. Their fleets, which consisted of small light vessels, braved the storms of the ocean, and penetrated into every quarter. They laid waste the coasts, and made their way into the heart of the provinces; nor was it possible to stop their progress. The government was incapable of taking any precaution, and the people having no protector, sunk under their fears. The steps of those robbers were every where marked with blood and fire. They twice pillaged Rouen, surprised and burnt Paris in 845, laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces with fire and sword, and reduced the king to the last extremities.

C H A P. X.

ALFRED THE GREAT DEFEATS THE DANES.

IF England felt the same scourge with France, she found a saviour in a great prince. Under Ethelwolf, successor of Egbert, the Danes committed many ravages, because the king neglected the cares of government. Three of his sons reigned after him, in a manner equally inglorious. But happily, their younger brother Alfred mounted the throne in 871; a man who seemed a prodigy in that age of horrors. He constantly kept an army on foot against the Danes, and had gained several victories over them. But new swarms of pirates coming incessantly to join the former, his troops were discouraged, and abandoned him. He was therefore obliged to disguise himself like a peasant, and to live for some months in the house of a shepherd after which he fortified himself in a morass, and from thence made incursions on the enemy, watching an opportunity to vanquish them.

Being at last informed that an English nobleman had beaten the Danes in a rencounter, he
quitted

quitted his retreat, dressed himself like a poor
 fidler, entered their camp with security, amused
 and deceived them, examined every part of it,
 was witness to their neglect of discipline and blind
 confidence, formed the plan of an attack, and
 withdrew to put it in execution. Soon after, he
 gave notice where he was, and assembled his best
 subjects, who thought that he was dead. Mul-
 titudes flocked to his standard; and having de-
 feated the Danes, he formed a scheme to convert
 them into subjects. With this view he gave
 them permission to settle in Northumberland,
 (which had been reduced to a desert) on condi-
 tion that they embraced Christianity. This mild
 policy seemed the best that could be pursued in
 his circumstances. The savage manners of the
 pirates might be softened by the practice of agri-
 culture, and the influence of religion. They
 might become the defenders of a state, where
 they had a fixed settlement, and would naturally
 love and respect a beneficent monarch, who had
 made them sensible of his valour and his re-
 sources. All the conditions were complied with,
 and England, at last, had time to breathe.

C H A P. XI.

ALFRED ENCOURAGES AND CULTIVATES
LEARNING.

AS knowledge, which enlightens the reason, in order to form the manners, appeared to him one of the most proper means for making his subjects happy, he drew learned men to his court, established schools, founded the famous university of Oxford, and constantly rewarded merit. He encouraged application to learning by his own example, and wrote a treatise of morality. Neither arts, agriculture, nor commerce; in short, nothing escaped the zeal by which he was animated; and he scattered, on every side, the seeds of happiness and virtue. Unhappily, too many obstacles prevented them from taking root, and they were almost entirely destroyed under the following reigns.

C H A P. XII.

THE CHARACTER OF ALFRED.

THE merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may, with advantage, be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or nation can present to us. He seems, indeed, to be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, the philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it reduced to practice. So happily were all his virtues tempered together; so justly were they blended, and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper bounds. He knew how to conciliate the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance, with the easiest flexibility; the most severe justice, with the greatest lenity; the greatest vigour in command, with the greatest affability of deportment; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military vir-

tues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause.

Nature also, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, and a pleasant, engaging and open countenance.

Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his fame to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular strokes, that we may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

C H A P. XIII.

OF CANUTE.

THE Danes had contended for the crown of England upwards of 200 years, in which time
were

were fought fifty four battles by land, and thirty-eight by sea, besides skirmishes and sieges, attended with the loss of an infinite number of men; yet they possessed it only four years, under three monarchs, the most famous of whom was Canute the Great.

Canute succeeded to the throne in the year 1017. He soon ingratiated himself with his new subjects: By rebuilding their cities, churches, and abbeys, by lessening their taxes, and by entrusting them with the highest offices, and even with the command of his armies, he soon won the hearts of the English, by whose assistance he obliged the king of Scotland to pay him tribute, and conquered Norway.

Towards the latter end of his life, he became humble and truly pious. As he was one day standing on the sea-shore, a flatterer in his train told him, that he was king both of earth and sea. Upon which, sitting down, he ordered the tide not to wet his feet, nor proceed any farther; but having staid there till the water surrounded him, he turned to the flatterer, and said, "See here, how vain is earthly grandeur, and how weak all human force! God alone is king of the land, and of the sea; Him let us worship and adore."

C H A P. XIV.

OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour; which he seconded by an oath extorted from Harold, when shipwrecked on the coast of France, that he would never aspire to the succession, and by which he bound himself to support the pretensions of William. The will Harold knew to be without foundation, and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had both been drawn from him by the fear of violence, and was in itself unlawful, unless William had been appointed successor by the king, or chosen by the people; he therefore replied to the Norman ambassadors, who summoned him to resign the kingdom, that he was determined strenuously to maintain the national liberties, with which he had been intrusted, and that the same moment should put a period to his life and his government.

This answer was no other than what William expected; he was therefore prepared for it. Having early in the summer raised a numerous army, he fitted out a strong fleet, and on the twenty-ninth

ninth of September 1066, landed at Pevensey in Suffex; thence proceeding to Hastings, he built a strong fort, and in the place called Battle Field, engaged the army of Harold, when a most bloody battle ensued; which, though lost, was fought with the utmost bravery by the English, notwithstanding the dislike they had conceived to Harold. In this engagement William had three horses killed under him, and a great number of his Normans slain; and Harold lost his life, together with the lives of many of the nobility, and about sixty thousand soldiers.

Historians tell us, that the loss of this battle was, in a great measure, owing to a long peace which the English had enjoyed, and in which they had neglected the military arts, and abandoned themselves to luxury and idleness; and to this, we may suppose, the licentiousness of the clergy, the effeminacy, gluttony, and oppression of the nobility, and the drunkenness and dissolute behaviour of the common people, did not a little contribute.

It is likewise to be observed, that the Normans had the advantage of the long bows, of the use of which the English were then ignorant. But notwithstanding these, the English with bills, their ancient weapons, kept so close together, that they were impregnable; and the Normans would

never have obtained the victory, had they not pretended to fly, and by that means brought the English into disorder.

CH A P. XV.

INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

HAROLD being slain in battle, William, who was about 52 years of age, marched directly to London, where he claimed the crown by the testament of King Edward the Confessor. On his way to that city he was met by a large body of the men of Kent, each with a bough or limb of a tree in his hand. This army was headed by Stigand the Archbishop, who made a speech to the conqueror, in which he boldly demanded the preservation of their liberties, and let him know that they were resolved rather to die, than to part with their laws, and live in bondage.

William thought proper to grant their demands; and suffered them to retain their ancient customs.

Upon his coronation at Westminster, he was sworn to govern by the laws of the realm;
and

and though he introduced some new forms, yet he preserved to the English their trials by juries, and the borough law. He instituted the courts of Chancery and Exchequer; but at the same time disarmed his English subjects, and forbid their having any light in their houses after eight o'clock at night, when a bell was rung, called Curfew, or cover-fire, at the sound of which all were obliged to put out their fires and candles. He conquered several powers who invaded England; obliged the Scots to preserve the peace they had broken; compelled the Welch to pay him tribute; refused to pay homage to the Pope; built the tower of London; and had all public acts made in the Norman tongue. He caused a general survey of all the lands of England to be made, and an account to be taken of the inhabitants, and live stock upon each estate; all which were recorded in a book, called Doomsday-Book, which is now kept in the Exchequer.

But the repose of this fortunate and victorious king was disturbed in his old age, by the rebellion of his eldest son Robert, who had been appointed governor of Normandy, but now assumed the government as sovereign of that province, in which he was favoured by the king of France. And here we have the rise of the wars between Eng-

land and France; which have continued longer, drawn more noble blood, and been attended with more memorable atchievements, than any other national quarrel we read of, in ancient or modern history.

William seeing a war inevitable, entered upon it with his usual vigour, and with incredible celerity, transporting a brave English army, invaded France, where he was every where victorious, but died before he had finished the war, in the year 1087, the sixty-first of his age, and twenty-first of his reign in England, and was buried in his own abbey at Caen in Normandy.

C H A P. XVI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

BY the Norman conquest, England not only lost the true line of her ancient Saxon kings, but also her principal nobility, who either fell in battle, in defence of their country and liberties, or fled to foreign countries, particularly Scotland, where being kindly received by king Malcolm, they established themselves; and what is very remarkable, introduced the Saxon, or English, which
has

has been the prevailing language of the Lowlands of Scotland to this day.

On the other hand, England, by virtue of the conquest, became much greater, both in dominion and power, by the accession of so much territory upon the Continent. For though the Normans, by the conquest, gained much of the English lands and riches, yet England gained the large and fertile dukedom of Normandy, which became a province to this crown. England likewise gained much by the great increase of naval power, and multitude of ships, wherein Normandy then abounded. This, with the perpetual intercourse between England and the Continent, gave us an increase of trade and commerce, and of treasure to the crown and kingdom, as appeared soon afterwards.

England, by the conquest, gained likewise a natural right to the dominion of the Channel, which had been before acquired only by the greater naval power of Edgar, and other Saxon kings. But the dominion of the narrow seas seems naturally to belong, like that of rivers, to those who possess the banks or coasts, on both sides, and so to have strengthened the former title, by so long a coast, as that of Normandy on one side, and of England on the other side of the Channel. This dominion of the Channel, though we have long ago

ago lost all our possessions in France, we continue to defend and maintain, by the bravery of our seamen, and the superior strength of our navy to any other power.

C H A P. XVII.

THE CHARACTER OF WILLIAM THE CON-
QUEROR, BY LORD LYTTLETON.

THE character of this prince has seldom been set in its true light; some eminent writers having been dazzled so much by the more shining parts of it, that they have hardly seen his faults; while others, out of a strong detestation of tyranny, have been unwilling to allow him the praise he deserves.

He may with justice be ranked among the greatest generals any age has produced. There was united in him activity, vigilance, intrepidity, caution, great force of judgment, and never-failing presence of mind. He was strict in his discipline, and kept his soldiers in perfect obedience; yet preserved their affection. Having been, from his very childhood, continually in war, and at the
head

head of armies, he joined to all the capacity that genius could give, all the knowledge and skill that experience could teach, and was a perfect master of the military art, as it was practised in the time wherein he lived.

His constitution enabled him to endure any hardships, and very few were equal to him in personal strength, which was an excellence of more importance than it is now, from the manner of fighting then in use. It is said of him, that none except himself could bend his bow.

His courage was heroic, and he possessed it, not only in the field, but (which is more uncommon) in the cabinet, attempting great things with means that to other men appeared totally unequal to such undertakings, and steadily prosecuting what he had boldly resolved, being never disturbed or disheartened by difficulties, in the course of his enterprizes; but having that noble vigour of mind, which, instead of bending to opposition, rises against it, and seems to have a power of controlling and commanding Fortune herself.

Nor was he less superior to pleasure than to fear. No luxury softened him, no riot disordered, no sloth relaxed. It helped not a little to maintain the high respect his subjects had for him, that the majesty of his character was never let down,
by

by any incontinence, or indecent excess. His temperance and his chastity were constant guards, that secured his mind from all weakness, supported its dignity, and kept it always, as it were, on the throne.

Through his whole life, he had no partner of his bed, but his queen; a most extraordinary virtue in one who had lived, even from his earliest youth, amidst all the licence of camps, the allurements of a court, and seductions of sovereign power! Had he kept his oaths to his people, as well as he did his marriage vow, he would have been the best of kings; but he indulged other passions of a worse nature, and infinitely more detrimental to the public than those he restrained. A lust of power, which no regard to justice could limit, the most unrelenting cruelty, and the most insatiable avarice possessed his soul.

It is true, indeed, that among many acts of extreme inhumanity, some shining instances of great clemency may be produced, that were either effects of his policy, which taught him the method of acquiring friends, or of his magnanimity, which made him slight a weak and subdued enemy, such as was Edgar Atheling, in whom he found neither
spirit

spirit nor talents, able to contend with him for the crown. But where he had no advantage nor pride in forgiving, his nature discovered itself to be utterly void of all sense of compassion; and some barbarities, which he committed, exceeded the bounds that even tyrants and conquerors prescribe to themselves.

Most of our ancient Historians gave him the character of a very religious prince; but his religion was after the fashion of those times, belief without examination, and devotion without piety. It was a religion that prompted him to endow monasteries, and at the same time allowed him to pillage kingdoms; that threw him on his knees before a relic or cross, but suffered him unrestrained to trample upon the liberties and rights of mankind.

As to his wisdom in government, of which some modern writers have spoken very highly, he was, indeed, so far wise, that, through a long unquiet reign, he knew how to support oppression by terror, and employ the properest means for carrying on a very iniquitous and violent administration. But that, which alone deserves the name of wisdom, in the character of a king, the maintaining of authority, by the exercise of those virtues which make the happiness of his people,

was

was what, with all his abilities, he does not appear to have possessed.

Nor did he excel in those soothing and popular arts, which sometimes change the complexion of tyranny, and give it a fallacious appearance of freedom. His government was harsh and despotic, violating even the principles of that constitution which he himself had established. Yet so far he performed the duty of a sovereign, that he took care to maintain a good police in his realm; curbing licentiousness with a strong hand, which, in the tumultuous state of his government, was a great and difficult work.

How well he performed it, we may learn even from the testimony of a contemporary Saxon historian, who says, that during his reign, a man might have travelled in perfect security all over the kingdom, with his bosom full of gold; nor durst any kill another, in revenge of the greatest offences, nor offer violence to the chastity of a woman. But it was a poor compensation, that the highways were safe, when the courts of justice were dens of thieves, and when almost every man in authority, or in office, used his power to oppress and pillage the people.

The king himself did not only tolerate, but encourage, support, and even share these extortions.

Though

Though the greatness of the ancient landed estate of the crown, and the feudal profits to which he was legally entitled, rendered him one of the richest monarchs in Europe, he was not content with all that opulence; but by authorizing the sheriffs, who collected his revenues in the several counties to practise the most grievous vexations and abuses, for the raising of them higher; by a perpetual auction of the crown lands, so that none of his tenants could be secure of possession, if any other would come and offer more: by various iniquities in the court of Exchequer, which was entirely Norman; by forfeitures wrongfully taken; and lastly, by arbitrary and illegal taxations, he drew into his treasury much too great a proportion of the wealth of his kingdom.

It must, however, be owned, that if his avarice was insatiably and unjustly rapacious, it was not meanly parsimonious, nor of that sordid kind, which brings on a prince dishonour and contempt. He supported the dignity of his crown, with a decent magnificence, and though he never was lavish, he sometimes was liberal, more especially to his soldiers and to the church. But looking on money as a necessary means of maintaining and increasing power, he desired to accumulate as much as he could, rather, perhaps, from an ambitious than

than a covetous nature; at least his avarice was subservient to his ambition, and he laid up wealth in his coffers, as he did arms in his magazines, to be drawn out, when any proper occasion required it, for the defence and enlargement of his dominions.

Upon the whole, he had many great qualities, but few virtues; and if those actions which most particularly distinguish the man or the king are impartially considered, we shall find, that in his character, there is much to admire, but still more to abhor.

C H A P. XVIII.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE, FROM
THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MODERN NA-
TIONS, TO THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH
CENTURY.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taste to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered; and the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity
would

would doubtless have softened their savage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous superstition; which, mingling itself with Christian principles and ceremonies, produced that absurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has so long disgraced the Romish Church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Christianity was a loser by the conversion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object, than the spirit of their religion.

The Christian emperors had enriched the church. They had lavished on it privileges and immunities. These seducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of discipline, and the introduction of disorders, more or less hurtful, which had altered the spirit of the gospel.

Under the dominion of the Barbarians, the degeneracy increased, till the pure principles of Christianity were lost in a gross superstition, which instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, the only sacrifice which can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God, by the same means that satisfied the justice of men, or by those employed to appease their fabulous deities.

Such

Such of the Barbarians as entered into orders carried their ignorance and original prejudices along with them. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences. Truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition.

The priests invented fables to awe the people into submission. They employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods. They changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas. The religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions, or to usurp those of others.

Without arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principle, almost all the European nations were as barbarous and wretched as they could possibly be, unless a miracle has been wrought for the disgrace of humanity. Charlemagne, indeed, in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as we have already had occasion to see, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and tame their subjects to the restraints of law; and they were so fortunate as to succeed. Light and order distinguished their reigns. But the ignorance and barbarism of the
age

age were too powerful for their liberal institutions. The darkness returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than before, and settled over Europe, and society again tumbled into chaos.

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century ; but what letters ? A scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, composed the learning of those times. It confounded every thing, in endeavouring to analyse every thing. As the new scholars were principally divines, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention ; and, as they neither knew history, philosophy, nor criticism, their labours were as futile as their enquiries, which were equally disgraceful to reason and religion.

C H A P. XIX.

OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, AND ITS PREVA-
LENCY DURING THE TENTH CENTURY.

THE Goths and Vandals, who dismembered the Roman empire, considered their conquests as
common

common property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to acquire them; nor was any obligation whatsoever entailed on possessions thus obtained. Every one was the king of his own little territory. But after settling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquisitions to maintain, not only against the ancient inhabitants, but also against the inroads of new invaders, they saw the necessity of a closer union, and of relinquishing some of their private rights for public safety.

They continued, therefore, to acknowledge the general, who had led them to conquest. He was considered as the head of the colony. He had the largest share of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every inferior officer and soldier, upon receiving a share according to his military rank, bound himself to appear against the enemies of the community.

This new division of property, and the obligations consequent upon it, gave rise to a species of government formerly unknown, and which is now distinguished by the name of the Feudal System.

Towards the close of the tenth century, the feudal policy was become universal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marches, and even the counts
intrusted

intrusted with administration of justice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquises, and counties. The king, indeed, as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands, which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion; but in all other respects, they themselves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals, or subjects; they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war against their private enemies.

The most frightful disorders arose from this state of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle, where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle. They were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians, in their deserts, could not be less indebted to the laws of society, than the Europeans, during the period under review. The people, the most numerous, as well as the most useful

D

class

class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty, for bread and protection. What must have been the state of that government, where slavery was an eligible condition !

C H A P. XX.

OF CHIVALRY.

MR. HUME observes, that there is a point of depression, as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline society seems to have attained in Europe, about the beginning of the eleventh century ; and accordingly, from that æra, we can trace a succession of causes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and to introduce order and politeness.

Among the first of these causes we must rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal state, as has been observed, was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were exposed, every moment, to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the legislative authority too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any shelter from violence and oppression, except what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded; and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice. The trader could no longer travel in safety, or bring to market his commodities, without which there was no subsisting. Every possessor of a castle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way.

Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured; but when abuses grow to a certain height,

height, the society must reform, or go to ruin. It becomes the business of all to discover, and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove them. Humanity sprung from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage, and every mode of oppression; who, equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pilaged; who had massacred, and done penance; touched at last by a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety; so honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical.

The young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the first time, with certain ceremonies proper to inspire martial ardour; but chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous discipline and solemnities of initiation are to be found in books of knighthood. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were its characteristics. To these were added religion; which, by infusing a large portion of enthusiastic zeal, carried them
all

all to a romantic excess, wonderfully suited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greatest and most permanent effects, both upon policy and manners.

War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, no less than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood; and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour, which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen. More gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himself to the service of a lady. Violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly those between the sexes, as more easily violated, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point; and valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irresistible.

That the spirit of chivalry sometimes rose to an extravagant height, and had often a pernicious tendency,

tendency, must however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed. In the train of Norman ambition, it extinguished the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we shall soon see it at the call of superstition, and as the engine of papal power, desolate Asia under the banner of the cross. But these ought not to be considered as arguments against an institution, laudable in itself, and necessary at the time of its foundation: and those who pretend to despise it, the advocates of ancient barbarism and ancient rusticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only first taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeness with the use of the sword, but roused the human soul from its lethargy, invigorated the human character, even while it softened it, and produced exploits, which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety, elegance, and pleasure, to the intercourse of life, by making women a more essential part of society; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, should be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

C H A P. XXI.

OF THE FIRST CRUSADE TO THE HOLY LAND,
IN ORDER TO DRIVE THE INFIDELS FROM
JERUSALEM. A. D. 1096.

POPE Gregory VII., among his other vast ideas, had formed the project of uniting the western Christians against the Mahometans, and of recovering Palestine from the hands of those infidels; and his quarrels with the emperor, Henry IV., by which he declared himself an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obstructed the progress of this undertaking, conducted by so able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were so fully prepared for such an enterprise. The work, however, was reserved for a meaner instrument; for a man, whose condition could excite no jealousy, and whose head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before we mention this man, it will be necessary to say a few words of the state of the East at that time, and of the passion for pilgrimages, which then prevailed in Europe.

We naturally view, with veneration and delight, those places which have been the residence of any

illustrious personage, or the scene of any great transaction. Hence the enthusiasm with which the literati still visit the ruins of Athens and Rome ; and hence flowed the superstitious devotion with which Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country, where their religion had taken its rise, and that city, in which the Messiah had died for the redemption of those who believe in his name.

Pilgrimages to the shrines of martyrs and saints were also common. But as this distant pilgrimage could not be performed without considerable expence, fatigue and danger, it appeared (for these reasons, as well as its superior sanctity) more meritorious than all others, and came to be considered as an expiation for almost every crime. And an opinion, which prevailed over Europe towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, increased the number and the ardour of the credulous devotees, who undertook this tedious journey.

The thousand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelation, were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world at hand. A general consternation seized the minds of Christians ; many relinquished their possessions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation

expedition to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Christ would suddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead.

But the Christians, in these pious journeys, had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places made sacred by the presence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of infidels. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet had early made themselves masters of Palestine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect against so warlike an enemy. They gave little disturbance, however, to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every person, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace.

But the Turks, a Tartar tribe, who had also embraced Mahometism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem, pilgrims were exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce barbarians: and this change coinciding with the panic of the consummation of all things, and the supposed appearance of Christ on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every person who returned from Palestine related the dangers which he had encountered.

tered in visiting the holy city, and described, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to judge the world.

C H A P. XXII.

PETER THE HERMIT EXCITES BOTH PRINCES
AND PEOPLE TO THIS EXPEDITION.

WHILE the minds of men were thus roused, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Piccardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Christendom against the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was so deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now exposed Christians, that he ran from province to province on his return,

turn, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it, with which he himself was animated.

Urban II. who had at first been doubtful of the success of such a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and summoned a council at Placentia, which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being sufficient to contain the multitude. It consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand seculars, who all declared for the war against the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprise. Urban, therefore, found it necessary to call another council the same year at Clermont in Auvergne, where the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had concluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one voice; "It is the will of God!—It is the will of God!"—Words which were deemed so memorable, and believed to be so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the sacred standard, and as the signal of rendezvous and battle, in all the future exploits of the champions of the Cross; the symbol chosen by the devoted combatants, as the badge

of union, and affixed to their right shoulder. Hence their expedition got the name of a Crusade.

C H A P. XXIII.

OF THE NUMBER OF ADVENTURERS.

PERSONS of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour; not only the gallant nobles of that age, with martial followers, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprise might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life; ecclesiastics of every order; and even women, concealing their sex beneath the disguise of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking, which was deemed so sacred and meritorious. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they succeeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promised a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, passion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the same end; and the combination of so many causes produced that wonderful

ful emigration, which made the princess Anna Commena say, “ that Europe loosened from its foundation, and impelled by its moving principle, seemed in one united body to precipitate itself upon Asia.”

The number of adventurers soon became so great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond, count of Thoulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, became apprehensive, lest the greatness of the armament should defeat its purpose; so that they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyless, and other wild fanatics.

Peter and his army, before which he walked with sandals on his feet, and a rope about his waist, took the road to Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godescald, a German priest, and his banditti, took the same route; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural means, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. But they soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles.

Want

Want is ingenious in suggesting pretences for its supply. Their fury first discharged itself upon the Jews. As the soldiers of Jesus Christ, they thought themselves authorised to take revenge upon his murderers. Accordingly they fell upon these unhappy people, and put to the sword without mercy such as would not submit to baptism, seizing their effects as lawful prize.

But Jews not being every where to be found, these pious robbers, who had tasted the sweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without distinction; till the inhabitants of the countries, through which they passed, rose, and cut them almost all off. The Hermit however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches.

Asia, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little states, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkish princes paid an empty homage to the Caliphs, but were in reality their masters; and the Sultans, who were very numerous, weakened still further the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the necessary

cessary consequence of divided sway. The soldiers of the cross therefore, who, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, amounted to the incredible number of one hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, were sufficient to have conquered all Asia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders, who observed any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the most independent, intractable spirits, unacquainted with discipline, and enemies to civil or military subordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in spite of every obstacle; the scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obstinate siege they took Nice, the seat of old Soliman, Sultan of Syria, whose army they had twice defeated. They made themselves masters of Antioch, the seat of another Sultan, and entirely broke the strength of the Turks, who had so long tyrannized over the Arabs.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIV.

THE CRUSADERS BESIEGE AND TAKE JERUSALEM. A. D. 1099.

THE Caliph of Egypt, whose alliance the Christians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, the authority of the Caliphs in Jerusalem; upon which he sent ambassadors to the leaders of the Crusade, informing them, that they might perform their religious vows, if they came disarmed to that city; and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment, which they had ever received from his predecessors. His offer was however rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and, on his refusal, the champions of the Cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours.

These pious adventurers were now much diminished, by the detachments they had made, and the disasters they had undergone; and what is almost incredible, according to the testimony of

most historians, they did not exceed twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, while the garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But, be that as it may, after a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction. Arms protected not the brave, nor submission the timid. No age nor sex was spared. Infants perished by the same sword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain: and the shrieks of agony or despair still resounded from every house, when these triumphant warriors, glutted with slaughter, threw aside their arms, yet streaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace! So inconsistent is human nature with itself; and so easily does superstition associate both with the most heroic courage, and with the fiercest barbarity.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXV.

OF HENRY THE SECOND, AND THOMAS
BECKET.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, who was crowned king of England, A. D. 1154, was by far the greatest prince of his time. He soon discovered amazing abilities for government, and had performed, in the sixteenth year of his age, actions that would have dignified the most experienced warriors. At his accession to the throne, he found the condition of the English boroughs greatly bettered, by the privileges granted them in the struggles between their late kings and the nobility. Henry perceived the good policy of this, and brought the boroughs to such a height, that if a bondman or servant remained in a borough a year and a day, he was by such residence made free. He demolished many of the castles that had been built by the barons: but when he came to touch the clergy, he found their usurpations not to be shaken. He perceived that the root of all their enormous disorders lay in Rome, where the popes had exempted church-men not only from lay courts, but civil taxes. The bloody
cruelties

cruelties and disorders, occasioned by those exemptions, all over the kingdom, would be incredible, were they not attested by the most unexceptionable evidences.

Unfortunately for Henry, the head of the English church, and chancellor of the kingdom, was the celebrated Thomas Becket. This man, powerful from his offices, and still more so by his popularity, arising from a pretended sanctity, was violent, intrepid, and a determined enemy to temporal power of every kind, but withal, cool and politic. The king assembled his nobility at Clarendon, the name of which place is still famous for the constitutions there enacted; which, in fact, abolished the authority of the Romish See over the English clergy. Becket finding it in vain to resist the stream, signed those constitutions, till they could be ratified by the pope; who, as he foresaw, rejected them.

Henry, though a prince of the most determined spirit of any of his time, was then embroiled with all his neighbours; and the See of Rome was at the same time, in its meridian grandeur. Becket having been arraigned and convicted of robbing the public, while he was chancellor, fled to France, where the pope and the French king espoused his quarrel. The effect was, that all the English clergy,

clergy, who were on the king's side, were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their allegiance. This disconcerted Henry so much, that he submitted to treat with, and even to be insulted by his rebel prelate, who returned triumphantly through the streets of London in 1170.

C H A P. XXVI.

OF THE MURDER OF THOMAS BECKET.

NOTHING could exceed the insolence with which Becket conducted himself upon his first landing in England. He immediately began to launch forth his thunders against those who had been his former opposers. Against the archbishop of York he denounced sentence of suspension; and the bishops of London and Salisbury he actually excommunicated.

Henry was in Normandy, while the primate was thus parading through the kingdom; and it was not without the utmost indignation, that he received information of his turbulent insolence.

When

When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived with their complaints, his anger knew no bounds. He broke forth into the most acrimonious expressions against that arrogant churchman, whom he had raised from the lowest station, to be the plague of his life, and the continual disturber of his government. The Archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity; and the king himself burst out into an exclamation, that he had no friends about him, otherwise he would not have been so long exposed to the insults of that ungrateful hypocrite. These words excited the attention of the whole court; and armed four of his most resolute attendants to gratify their monarch's secret inclinations. The names of these knights and gentlemen of his household were Reginal Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, who immediately communicated their thoughts to each other. They instantly bound themselves by an oath to revenge their king's quarrels: and secretly retiring from court, took shipping at different ports, and met the next day at the castle of Saltwode, within six miles of Canterbury.

Some menacing expressions, which they had dropt, and their sudden departure, gave the king
reason

reason to suspect their design. He therefore sent messengers to overtake and forbid them, in his name, to commit any violence. But these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The conspirators being joined by some assistants at the place of their meeting, proceeded to Canterbury with all that haste their bloody intentions required. Advancing directly to Becket's house, and entering his apartment, they reproached him very fiercely for the rashness and the insolence of his conduct; as if they had been willing to enjoy his terrors before they destroyed him. Becket, however, was not in the least terrified; but vindicated his actions with that zeal and resolution, which nothing, probably, but the consciousness of his innocence could inspire. The conspirators felt the force of his replies; and were particularly enraged at a charge of ingratitude, which he objected to three of them, who had been formerly retained in his service.

During this altercation, the time approached for Becket to assist at Vespers, whither he went unguarded, the conspirators following, and preparing for their attempt. As soon as he had reached the altar, where it is just to think he aspired at the glory of martyrdom, they all fell upon him; and having cloven his head with repeated blows,

blows, he dropt down dead before the altar of St. Benedict, which was besmeared with his blood and brains.

C H A P. XXVII.

OF THE IMPRESSION WHICH BECKET'S ASSASSINATION MADE ON THE PEOPLE.

THE circumstances of Becket's murder, the place where it was perpetrated, and the fortitude, with which the prelate resigned himself to his fate, made a most surprizing impression on the people. No sooner was his death known, than the people rushed into the church to see the body ; and dipping their hands into his blood, crossed themselves with it, as with that of a saint.

The clergy, whose interest it was to have Becket considered as a saint, and perhaps who were sincere in their belief, considering the times we treat of, did all that lay in their power to magnify his sanctity, to extol the merits of his martyrdom, and to hold him out as the fittest object for the veneration of the people. Their endeavours soon prevailed. Innumerable were the miracles said to be

be wrought at this tomb. It was not sufficient that his shrine had the power of restoring dead men to life; it restored also cows, dogs and horses. It was reported, and believed, that he rose from his coffin before he was buried, to light the tapers designed for his funeral; nor was he remiss, when the funeral ceremony was over, in stretching forth his hands to give his benediction to the people. Thus Becket became a saint; and the king was strongly suspected of having procured his assassination.

Nothing could exceed the king's consternation upon receiving the first news of this prelate's catastrophe. He was instantly sensible that the murder would ultimately be imputed to him. He was apprized that his death would effect what his opposition could not do: and would procure those advantages to the church, which it had been the study of his whole reign to refuse. These considerations gave him the most unfeigned concern. He shut himself up in darkness, refusing even the attendance of his domestics. He even refused, during three days, all nourishment. The courtiers dreading the effects of his regret, were at last obliged to break into his solitude; and induced him at last to be reconciled to a measure that he could not redress. The pope soon after being
made

made sensible of the king's innocence, granted him his pardon; but upon condition that he would make every future submission, and perform every injunction that the holy see should require. All things being thus adjusted, the assassins, who had murdered Becket, retired in safety to the enjoyment of their former dignities and honours; and the king, in order to divert the minds of the people to a different object, undertook an expedition against Ireland, which he conquered and took possession of, A. D. 1172.

C H A P. XXVIII.

KING JOHN RESIGNS HIS CROWN INTO THE
HANDS OF THE POPE'S NUNCIO. A. D.
1213.

JOHN had several contests with the Pope, who excommunicated him, and absolved the people of England from their oath of allegiance. At last he informed him that he was resolved to deprive him of his kingdom, and to give it to Philip king of France. Accordingly, Philip levied a great army, and summoning all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen, he collected a

E

fleet

fleet of seventeen hundred vessels in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy, already devouring in imagination the kingdom he was appointed to possess.

John, who, unsettled and apprehensive, scarcely knew where to turn, was still able to make an expiring effort to receive the enemy. All hated as he was, on account of his bad conduct, the natural enmity between the French and the English, the name of king, which he still retained, and some remaining power, put him at the head of sixty thousand men, a sufficient number, indeed, but not to be relied on, and with these he advanced to Dover.

Europe now regarded the important preparations on both sides with impatience; and the decisive blow was expected, in which the church was to triumph, or to be overthrown. But neither Philip nor John had ability equal to the pontiff by whom they were actuated. He appeared, on this occasion, too refined a politician for either. He only intended to make use of Philip's power to intimidate his refractory son, not to destroy him. He expected more advantages from his agreement with a prince, so abject both in character and fortune, than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch; who, having no-
thing

thing else left to conquer, might convert his power against his benefactor. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Pandulph, his legate, to admit of John's submission, in case it should be offered, and he dictated the terms which would be proper for him to impose. In consequence of this, the legate passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great armament ready to set sail, and highly commended the monarch's zeal and expedition. From thence he went in person, or, as some say, sent over an envoy, to Dover, under pretence of negotiating with the barons, and had a conference with John upon his arrival. He there represented to this forlorn prince, the numbers of the enemy, the hatred of his own subjects, and the secret confederacy there was in England against him. He intimated, that there was but one way to secure him from impending danger; which was to put himself under the pope's protection, who was a merciful father, and still willing to receive a repentant sinner to his bosom.

John was too much intimidated by the manifest danger of his situation, not to embrace every means offered for his safety. He assented to the truth of the legate's remonstrances, and took an oath to perform whatever stipulations the pope should impose. Having thus sworn to the performance

formance of an unknown command, the artful Italian so well managed the barons, and so effectually intimidated the king, that he persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history, before all the people, upon his knees, and with his hands held up between those of the legate.

“ I John, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will, and the advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope Innocent, and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of a thousand marks yearly; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland.” Having thus done homage to the legate, he received the crown, which he had been supposed to have forfeited, while the legate trampled under his feet the tribute which John had consented to pay.

Thus after all his armaments and expectations, Philip saw himself disappointed of his prey, and

perceived that the pope had over-reached him in this transaction.

C H A P. XXIX.

MAGNA CHARTA SIGNED BY KING JOHN.

A. D. 1216.

THE English barons, fired with indignation at the meanness of their king, had recourse to arms, and demanded a re-establishment of the laws of Edward the Confessor, and a renewal of the Charta of Henry the First; which being refused by the king, they elected Robert Fitzwalter for their general, whom they dignified with the titles of "Mareschal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church," and proceeded without further ceremony to make war upon the king. They besieged Northampton, they took Bedford, they were joyfully received into London. They wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen, who had not yet declared in their favour, and menaced their estates with devastation, in case of refusal or delay.

In the mean time, the timid king was left at a place called Odiham in Surry, with a mean retinue of only seven knights, where he vainly endeavoured to avert the storm, by the mediation of his bishops and ministers. He appealed to archbishop Langton against these fierce remonstrants, little suspecting that the primate himself was leagued against him. He desired him to fulminate the thunders of the church upon those who had taken arms against their prince; and aggravated the impiety of their opposition, as he was engaged in the pious and noble duties of the crusade. Langton permitted the tyrant to waste his passions in empty complaints, and declared he would not pass any censure where he found no delinquent. He promised, indeed, that much might be done, in case some foreign auxiliaries, which John had lately brought over, were dismissed; and the weak prince, supposing his advice sincere, disbanded a great body of Germans and Flemings, whom he had retained in his service.

When the king had thus left himself without protection, he then thought it was the duty of Langton to perform his promise; and to give him the aid of the church, since he had discarded all temporal assistance. But what was his surprize, when the archbishop refused to excommunicate a

single

single baron, but peremptorily opposed his commands. John, stung with resentment and regret, knew not where to turn for advice or comfort. As he had hitherto sported with the happiness of mankind, he found none that did not secretly rejoice in his sufferings. He now began to think, that any terms were to be complied with; and that it was better to reign a limited prince, than sacrifice his crown, and perhaps his life, to ambition. But first he offered to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates. This the barons scornfully rejected. He then assured them that he would submit at discretion; and that it was his supreme pleasure to grant all their demands. A conference was accordingly appointed, and all things adjusted for this most important treaty.

The ground, where the king's commissioners met the barons, was between Staines and Windsor, at a place called Runimede, still held in reverence by posterity, as the spot, where the standard of freedom was first erected in England. There the barons appeared, with a vast number of knights and warriors, on the fifteenth day of June, while those on the king's part came a day or two after.

Both sides encamped apart, like open enemies. The debates between power and precedent are generally but of short continuance. The barons, determined on carrying their aims, would admit of few abatements; and the king's agents being for the most part in their interests, few debates ensued. After some days, the king, with a facility that was somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter required of him; a charter which continues in force to this day, and is that famous bulwark of English liberty, which now goes by the name of **MAGNA CHARTA**.

This famous deed, either granted or secured very important privileges to those orders of the kingdom, who were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; as for the inferior, and the greatest part of the people, they were still held as slaves, and it was long before they could come to a participation of legal protection.

C H A P. XXX.

OF EDWARD THE FIRST, AND THE ORIGIN
OF THE TITLE OF PRINCE OF WALES.

EDWARD I. came to the throne of England A. D. 1272 He was crowned on his return from Palestine, where, with only 10,000 Englishmen, he struck a general panic into the Saracens. He narrowly escaped being murdered there by an assassin, from whom he received a wound in his arm, which was given by a poisoned dagger; and it is affirmed that he owed his life to the affection of Eleanor his queen, who was with him, and sucked the venom out of the wound.

He was a brave and a politic prince, and being perfectly well acquainted with the laws, interests, and constitution of his kingdom, the wisdom and policy of his regulations have justly given him the title of the English Justinian.

He granted certain privileges to the cinque-ports, which, though now very inconsiderable, were then obliged to attend the king when he went beyond sea, with fifty-seven ships, each having twenty armed foldiers on board, and to maintain them at their own costs for the space of fifteen days.

Edward having defeated and killed Llewellyn, a petty king of Wales, who had revolted, afterwards summoned a parliament at Ruthen, where it was resolved, that Wales should be inseparably united to England. But some of the Welch nobles telling the king, that he would never peaceably enjoy their country, till they were governed by a prince of their own nation, he sent for his Queen, who was then pregnant, to lie in at Caernarvon, where she was brought to bed of a prince, whom the states of Wales acknowledged for their Sovereign; and, since that time, the eldest sons of the Kings of England have borne the title of Prince of Wales.

Soon after this, Queen Eleanor died at Grant-ham in Lincolnshire; to whose memory the King erected a cross at every place where the corpse rested in the way to Westminster.

C H A P. XXXI.

OF THE SWISS CANTONS.

THE inhabitants of Switzerland are the descendants of the ancient Helvetii, subdued by Julius

lius Cæsar. Their mountainous, uninviting situation, formed a better security for their liberties, than their forts or armies; and the same is the case at present. They continued long under little better than a nominal subjection to the Burgundians and Germans, till about the year 1300, when the Emperor Albert treated them with so much rigour, that they petitioned him against the cruelty of his governors. This served only to redouble the hardships of the people; and one of Albert's Austrian governors, Grifler, in the wantonness of tyranny, set up a hat upon a pole, to which he ordered the natives to pay as much respect as to himself. One William Tell, being observed to pass frequently without taking notice of the hat, and being an excellent marksman, the tyrant condemned him to be hanged, unless he cleft an apple upon his son's head, at a certain distance, with an arrow. Tell had the dexterity to cleave the apple, though the distance was very considerable, without hitting the child. The tyrant perceiving that he had another arrow concealed under his cloak, asked him for what purpose? To which he boldly replied, "To have shot you to the heart, if I had had the misfortune to kill my son."

The enraged governor ordered him to be imprisoned. He soon made his escape; and his fellow-citizens, animated by his fortitude and patriotism, flew to arms, attacked and vanquished Grifler, who was shot to death by Tell, and the independency of the several states of this country, now called the Thirteen Cantons, under a republican form of government, took place immediately; which was perpetuated by a league among themselves, in the year 1315; and confirmed by treaty with the other powers of Europe, 1649. Seven of these Cantons are Roman Catholics, and six Protestants.

Whether all the incidents of Tell's story be true or fabulous, the men (whoever they were) who roused and incited their fellow citizens to throw off the Austrian yoke, deserve to be regarded as patriots, having undoubtedly been actuated by that principle, so dear to every generous heart, the spirit of independence.

C H A P. XXXII.

OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

EDWARD III. mounted the throne in 1327. He was then under the tuition of his mother, who cohabited with Mortimer; and they endeavoured to keep possession of their power, by executing many popular measures, and putting an end to all national differences with Scotland. Edward, young as he was, was soon sensible of their designs. He surprised them in person, at the head of a few chosen friends, in the castle of Nottingham. Mortimer was ignominiously put to a public death, and the queen herself was confined for life.

It was not long before Edward found means to quarrel with David, king of Scotland, who had married his sister, and who was driven to France by Edward Baliol, who acted as Edward's tributary king, and general.

Soon after, upon the death of Charles the Fair, king of France (without issue), who had succeeded by virtue of the Salic law, which the French pretended cut off all female succession to that crown, Philip of Valois claimed it, as being the next heir male by succession; but he was opposed by Edward,

ward, as being the son of Isabella, who was sister to the three late kings of France, and first in the female succession. The former was preferred, but the case being doubtful, Edward pursued his claim, and invaded France with a powerful army.

On this occasion, the vast difference between the feudal constitutions of France, which were then in full force, and the government of England, more favourable to public liberty, appeared. The French officers knew no subordination. They and their men were equally undisciplined and disobedient, though far more numerous than their enemies in the field. The English freemen, on the other hand, having now vast property to fight for, which they could call their own, independent of a feudal law, knew its value, and had learned to defend it, by providing themselves with proper armour, and submitting to military exercises, and proper subordination in the field. The war, on the part of Edward, was therefore a continued scene of success and victory.

C H A P. XXXIII.

THE BATTLE OF CRESSY AND POICTIERS.

AT Cressy, in 1346, Edward defeated the French army, consisting of 100,000 men, chiefly by the valour of the prince of Wales, who was but sixteen years of age, though the English did not exceed 30,000.

In this engagement, thirty thousand of the French were killed upon the field; and, among this number were John king of Bohemia, James king of Majorca, Ralph duke of Lorraine, nine counts, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, and four thousand men at arms.

There is something remarkable in the fate of the Bohemian monarch; who, though blind, was yet willing to share in the engagement. This unfortunate prince, enquiring the fate of the day, was told that all was lost, and his son Charles obliged to retire desperately wounded; and that the prince of Wales bore down every thing before him. Having received this information, blind as he was, he commanded his knights to lead him into the hottest part of the battle, against the young warrior. Accordingly, four of them
rushed

rushed with him into the thickest part of the enemy, where they were all quickly slain.

The whole French army took flight, and were put to the sword by the pursuers without mercy, till night stopped the carnage. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My valiant son; continue as you have begun; you have acquitted yourself nobly, and are worthy of the kingdom that will be your inheritance." The next morning was foggy, and a party of the militia of Rouen coming to join the French army, were routed by the English at the first onset. Many more also were decoyed by some French standards, which the victors placed upon the mountains, and to which the fugitives resorted, where they were cut in pieces without mercy.

Never was a victory more seasonable, or less bloody to the English than this. Notwithstanding the great slaughter of the enemy, the conquerors lost but one esquire, three knights, and a few of inferior rank.

The crest of the king of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, with this motto, *Ich Dien*; which signifies, in the German language, I serve. This was thought to be a proper prize to perpetuate the victory; and it was accordingly added to the

arms

arms of the prince of Wales, and it has been adopted by all his successors.

The battle of Poitiers was fought in 1356, between the prince of Wales, and the French king John, but with greatly superior advantages of numbers on the part of the French, who were totally defeated, and their king, and his favourite son-Philip, taken prisoners. It is thought that the number of French killed in this battle, was double that of all the English army; but the modesty and politeness with which the prince treated his royal prisoners, formed the brightest wreath in his garland.

Historians relate, that the English first employed cannon in these memorable battles; and declare that the French were not as yet acquainted with it. Their extraordinary success is partly imputed to the surprise which the novelty of those tremendous messengers of death occasioned.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIV.

DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, IS TAKEN PRISONER.

WHILE Edward was reaping victories upon the Continent, the Scotch, ever willing to embrace a favourable opportunity of rapine and revenge, invaded the frontiers of England with a numerous army, headed by David Bruce their king. This unexpected invasion, at such a juncture, alarmed the English, but was not capable of intimidating them. Lionel, Edward's son, who was left guardian of England during his father's absence, was yet too young to take upon him the command of an army. But the victories on the Continent seemed to inspire even women with valour. Philippa, Edward's queen, took upon her the conduct of the field, and prepared to repulse the enemy in person. Accordingly, having made Lord Percy general under her, she met the Scots at a place called Nevill's Cross, near Durham, and offered them battle.

The Scotch king was no less impatient to engage. He imagined that he might obtain an easy victory against undisciplined troops, and headed
by

by a women. But he was miserably deceived. His army was quickly routed, and driven from the field. Fifteen thousand of his men were cut to pieces; and he himself, with many of his nobles and knights; were taken prisoners, and carried in triumph to London.

Thus Edward, on his return, had the pleasure to see two crowned heads his captives at London. Both kings were afterwards ransomed; but John returned to England, and died at the palace of the Savoy.

C H A P. XXXV.

OF THE BUILDING OF WINDSOR CASTLE, AND
THE INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF THE
GARTER.

THE magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III. and his method of conducting that work, may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of alluring workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him so many masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying

levying an army. Soldiers were enlisted only for a short time. They lived idle all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives. One successful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man ; which was a great allure-ment to enter into the service. The wages of a master carpenter was limited through the whole year to three-pence a day, and that of a common carpenter to two-pence.

Edward likewise instituted the order of the Garter, which is said to have had its rise from the Countess of Salisbury's dropping her garter at a ball, which the king taking up, presented to her, saying, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*, " Evil to him who evil thinks ;" when observing several of the nobles smile, he added, " Many a man has laughed at the garter, who will think it a very great honour to wear such a one."

C H A P. XXXVI.

OF THE OPINION WE ARE TO FORM OF
EDWARD'S CONQUESTS.

THE reign of Edward was rather brilliant, than truly serviceable to his subjects. If England, during these shining triumphs on the Continent, gained any real advantage, it was only that of having a spirit of honour and elegance diffused among the higher ranks of the people. In all conquests, something is gained in civil life from the people subdued; and as France was at that time evidently more civilized than England, those imitative islanders, as they were then called, adopted the arts of the people they overcame. The meanest soldier in the English army now began to follow his leader from love, and not compulsion. He was brave from sentiment alone; and had the honour of his country beating in his breast, even though in the humblest station. This was the time when chivalry was at its highest pitch; and many of the successes of England were owing to that romantic spirit, which the king endeavoured to diffuse, and of which he was the most shining example. It was this spirit that, in
some

some measure, served to soften the ferocity of the age; being a mixture of love, generosity, and war. Instead of being taught the sciences, the sons of the nobility were brought into the field, as soon as they were able, and instructed in no other arts but those of arms; such as the method of sitting on horseback, of wielding the lance, running at the ring, flourishing at a tournament, and addressing a mistress. To attain these, was considered as the sum of all human acquirements. And though war made their only study, yet the rules of tactics, encampments, stratagems, and fortifications, were almost totally disregarded.

C H A P. XXXVII.

OF WICKLIFFE, THE FIRST REFORMER.

IN the latter end of Edward's reign, John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began to propagate his doctrines; and he has the honour of being the first person who had sagacity to see through the errors of the church of Rome, and courage enough to attempt a reformation.

He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the
supremacy

supremacy of the church of Rome, and the merit of monastic vows. He maintained that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; and that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety. In short, most of his doctrines were such, as the wisdom of posterity thought fit to establish; and Wickliffe failed in being a reformer, only because the minds of men were not yet sufficiently ripened for the truths he endeavoured to inculcate.

The clergy of that age did not fail to oppose Wickliffe with fury. But as his doctrines were pleasing to the higher orders of the laity, he found protection from their indignation. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was his particular friend and favourer; and when summoned to appear before the bishop of London, that nobleman attended him into the court, and defended him both from the resentment of the clergy, and the rage of the populace.

However, in process of time, he had the satisfaction to see the people, who were at first strongly prejudiced against him, entirely declaring in his favour; and although he was often cited to appear before the prelates, yet, from the estimation he was held in, both among the higher and lower

lower ranks of the laity, he was always dismissed without injury. In this manner he continued during a long life, to lessen the credit of the clergy, both by his preaching and writings: and at last died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; while the clergy took care to represent his death as a judgement from heaven, for his multiplied heresies and impieties.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

OF THE INSURRECTION OCCASIONED BY A
POLL TAX, A. D. 1379.

IN the reign of Richard II. a poll tax was passed at twelve pence per head, on all above the age of sixteen. This being levied with severity, caused an insurrection in Kent and Essex.

A blacksmith, well known by the name of Wat Tyler, was the first who excited the people to arms. The tax-gatherers coming to this man's house, while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter, which he refused, alledging that she was under the age mentioned in the act. One
of

of the brutal collectors insisted on her being a full grown woman ; and immediately attempted giving a very indecent proof of his assertion. This provoked the father to such a degree, that he instantly struck him dead with a blow of his hammer. The standers-by applauded his spirit; and, one and all, resolved to defend his conduct. He was considered as a champion in the cause, and appointed the leader and spokesman of the people.

It is easy to imagine the disorders committed by this tumultuous rabble. The whole neighbourhood rose in arms. They burnt and plundered wherever they came, and revenged upon their former masters all those insults which they had long sustained with impunity.

As the discontent was general, the insurgents increased in proportion as they approached the capital. The flame soon propagated itself into Kent, Hertfordshire, Surry, Suffex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. They were found to amount to above an hundred thousand men, by the time they were arrived at Blackheath; from whence they sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, desiring a conference with them. With this message Richard was desirous of complying, but was intimidated by their fierce demeanour.

In the mean time they had entered the city, burning and plundering the houses of such as were obnoxious, from their power, or remarkable for their riches. They broke into the Savoy palace, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, and put several of his attendants to death. Their animosity was particularly levelled against the lawyers, to whom they shewed no mercy.

Such was the vehemence of their fury, that the king began to tremble for his own safety; and, knowing that the tower was not capable of standing against an assault, he went out among them, and desired to know their demands. To this they made a very humble remonstrance, requiring a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns, and a fixed rent, instead of those services required by the tenure of the villenage.

As these requests were reasonable, the king soon complied; and charters were accordingly made out, ratifying the grant. In the mean time, another body of these insurgents had broke into the tower, and murdered the chancellor, the primate, and the treasurer, with some other officers of distinction. They then divided themselves into bodies, and took up their quarters in different parts of the city.

At the head of one of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to a conference, under a pretence of hearing and redressing his grievances. Tyler ordering his companions to retire, till he should give them a signal, boldly ventured to meet the king in the midst of his retinue; and accordingly began the conference.

The demands of this demagogue are censured by all the historians of the time, as insolent and extravagant; and yet nothing can be more just than those they have delivered for him. He required that all slaves should be set free; that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as the rich, and that a general pardon should be passed for the late outrages. Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword in a menacing manner; which insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, then mayor of London, attending on the king, that, without considering the danger to which he exposed his majesty, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace; while one of the king's knights riding up, dispatched him with his sword.

The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves to take revenge; and their bows were now bent for execution, when Richard, though

not yet quite sixteen years of age, rode up to the rebels, and, with admirable presence of mind, cried out, "What, my people, will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader, I myself will now be your general. Follow me into the field, and ye shall have whatever ye desire." The awed multitude immediately desisted. They followed the king, as if mechanically, into the fields, and there he granted them the same charter, which he had before granted to their companions.

These grants, for a short time, gained the king great popularity; and it is probable it was his own desire to have them continued. But the nobles had long tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to admit any others to a participation. The parliament soon revoked these charters of enfranchisement and pardon. The low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ringleaders were punished with capital severity. The insurrections of the barons against their kings, are branded in history with no great air of invective; but the tumults of the people against the barons, are marked with all the virulence of reproach.

C H A P. XXXIX.

OF HENRY THE FIFTH OF ENGLAND.

HENRY V. succeeded to the throne at 25 years of age, and was crowned at Westminster on the 9th of April, 1413. The next year commissioners were appointed for adjusting the disputes between the crowns of England and France. But Henry, seeing that nothing could be done by negotiation, resolved to have recourse to arms, when Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, advised him to lay claim to the whole kingdom of France, as the heir and successor of Edward III. This war was approved of by the parliament. He therefore demanded the crown of France as his right; upon which, the Dauphin, in contempt, sent him a present of a ton of tennis-balls, to let him know that he thought him fitter for play than for war. But Henry sent him word, that he would soon repay him with such balls, as the strongest gates of Paris should not be rackets sufficient to rebound.

Accordingly, in 1415, Henry embarked his army, amounting to 50,000 men, on board 1500 transports, and landed at Havre-de-Grace, in Normandy,

mandy, when he immediately laid siege to Harfleur, which surrendered in five weeks. Soon after which, the French, having assembled an army six times superior to the king's, challenged him to fight; and Henry accepted it, though the French army consisted of 150,000 men, and the English were reduced to 9000.

The French therefore made rejoicings in their camp, as if the English were already defeated, and even sent to Henry to know what he would give for his ransom. To which he replied, that a few hours would shew whose care it would be to make that provision.

The English, though fatigued with their march, and almost starved for want of food, were inspired by the example of their brave king, and resolved to conquer or die. In this situation, Henry sent David Gam, a Welch captain, to reconnoitre the enemy, who bravely reported, that "there were enow to be killed, enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away."

The king was encamped, October 25th, 1415, on a plain near Agincourt, and having drawn up his soldiers in two lines, he disposed them to so much advantage, and behaved with such extraordinary conduct and courage, that, by the blessing of Divine Providence, whose assistance he publicly

licly and solemnly implored before the action, by offering up prayers, and exhorting his troops to place all their trust in God, he gained a complete victory, after having been several times knocked down, and in the most imminent danger of losing his life. The English killed upwards of 10,000 men, and took more prisoners than they had men in the army.

Henry, who was as great a politician as a warrior, made such alliances, and divided the French among themselves so effectually, that he forced the queen of France, whose husband, Charles VI., was a lunatic, to agree to his marrying her daughter, the princess Catherine, to disinherit the Dauphin, and to declare Henry regent of France during her husband's life, and him and his issue successors to the French monarchy, which must at this time have been exterminated, had not the Scots furnished the Dauphin with vast supplies, and preserved the French crown for his head. Henry, however, made a triumphal entry into Paris, where the Dauphin was proscribed; and, after receiving the fealty of the French nobility, he returned to England to levy a force, which might crush the Dauphin and his Scotch auxiliaries. He probably would have been successful, had he not died of a

pleuritic disorder, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conspicuous in the cabinet, and in the field. The boldness of his plans was no less remarkable, than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. Yet his reign was rather splendored than profitable. The treasures of the nation were lavished on conquests, which, even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious to the nation. Nevertheless he died fortunate, by falling in the midst of his victories, and leaving his subjects in the very height of his reputation.

The English triumphs, at this time, in France, produced scarce any good effects at home. As they grew warlike, they became savage; and panting after foreign possessions, forgot the arts of cultivating those that lay nearer home.

Our language, instead of improving, was more neglected than before. Langland and Chaucer had begun to polish it, and enrich it with new and elegant constructions; but it was now seen to relapse into its former rudeness, and no poet or historian of note was born in this tempestuous period.

C H A P.

C H A P. XL.

OF JOAN OF ARC, OR, THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

NOTHING could be more deplorable than the situation of Charles VII. on assuming his title to the crown of France. The English were masters of almost all the country; and Henry VI., though yet but an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, still remained stedfast, and seconded his claims. The earl of Salisbury had invested Orleans, and when it was near being surrendered, a country girl, named Joan of Arc, who, in the station of servant to a small inn, had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, undertook to deliver France from the English. This girl, inflamed with the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the siege of Orleans, and affected with the distresses of her country, but more particularly with those of the youthful monarch, whose gallantry made him the idol of the softer sex, was seized

with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign, in his present unhappy circumstances. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied she saw visions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders.

Having got herself introduced to the king, she offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An Assembly of grave doctors and theologians was appointed to examine Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. The parliament also attested her inspiration; and a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin. Her requests were now granted. She was armed cap-a-pee, mounted on horseback, and shewn in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former station, was regarded as a
fresh

fresh proof of her mission. Her former occupation was denied. She was converted into a shepherdess, an employment more agreeable to the imagination, than that of an ostler-wench. Ten years were subtracted from her age, in order to excite still more admiration, and she was received with the loudest acclamations by persons of all ranks. A ray of hope began to break through that despair, in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

CHAP. XLI.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS OBLIGES THE ENGLISH TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF THAT CITY, AND CONDUCTS CHARLES TO RHEIMS IN ORDER TO BE CROWNED.

THE English at first affected to speak with derision of the Maid and her heavenly commission; but their imagination was secretly struck with the strong persuasion, which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a divine vengeance

ance hanging over them. A silent astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat.

The Maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard. She was received as a celestial deliverer by the garrison and inhabitants; and by the instructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, she actually obliged the English to raise the siege of that city, after defeating them in several attacks.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promise to Charles; the crowing him at Rheims was the other: And she now vehemently insisted, that he should set out immediately on that enterprize. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom. It was then in the hands of a victorious enemy. The whole road which led to it, was occupied by their garrisons; and no imagination could have been so sanguine, as to hope that such an attempt could possibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, he resolved to follow the ex-

hortations of his warlike prophets, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English. He accordingly set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men; and scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him. Rheims sent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is said to have brought from Heaven to Clovis, on the first establishment of the French monarchy.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects; and he seemed to derive, from a heavenly commission, a new title to their allegiance. Many places submitted to him immediately after his coronation; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of duty and affection.

C H A P. XLII.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS IS TAKEN PRISONER
BY THE ENGLISH, AND PUT TO DEATH.

THE Maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared that her mission was now accomplished,

complished, and expressed her inclination to retire to the occupations and course of life which became her sex. But the French officers, sensible of the great advantages which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till the final expulsion of the English. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into a town, besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves invincible: but their joy was of short duration: the Maid was taken prisoner in a sally; and the duke of Bedford, resolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for forcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty, by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all these crimes, aggravated by heresy. Her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil, to delude the people; and this admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by that dreadful punishment, the signal services, which she had rendered to her prince, and her native country. The affairs of the English, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay.

C H A P. XLIII.

OF THE MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND HIS
BROTHER.

AS Edward, when he came to the throne, was only thirteen years of age, his uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, was appointed protector of the kingdom during his minority. But the citizens of London offering him the crown, he accepted of it; having first put to death all the nobility and great men, whom he thought to be well affected to the late king's family.

One crime ever draws on another; justice will revolt against fraud, and usurpation requires security. As soon, therefore, as Richard was seated upon the throne, he sent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death. But this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, refused to be made the instrument of a tyrant's will, and submissively answered, that he knew not how to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit instrument, however, was not long wanting. Sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to resign to him the keys for one night. He chose three associates,
whom

whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged. They found the young princes in bed, and falling into a sound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stair case, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. These facts appeared in the succeeding reign, being confessed by the perpetrators, who, however, escaped punishment for the crime. The bodies of the princes were afterwards sought for by Henry VII. but could not be found. But in the reign of Charles II. the bones of two persons, answering their age, were found in the very spot where it was said they were buried. They were interred in a marble monument, by order of the King, in Westminster Abbey.

C H A P. XLIV.

RICHARD THE THIRD IS DEFEATED AND
KILLED BY HENRY THE SEVENTH. A. D.
1483.

RICHARD had now waded through every obstacle to the throne; and began, after the manner of all usurpers, to strengthen his ill-got power by foreign connections. Sensible also of the influence of pageantry and shew upon the minds of the people, he caused himself to be crowned first at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to secure by great indulgences; and his friends, by bestowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were instrumental in placing him on the throne.

But the earl of Richmond, who still remained in France, carried on a secret correspondence with the friends of Edward the Fourth, and by offering to marry his eldest daughter, he was encouraged to invade England, at the head of about 2000 foreign troops; but they were soon joined by 7000 English and Welch. A battle between him and Richard, who was at the head of 15,000 men, ensued at Bosworth Field, near Leicester.

Richard,

Richard, descrying his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by one blow; and, with irresistible fury, flew through thousands to attack him. He killed, with his own hand, Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl. He dismounted Sir John Cheyney; and he was within reach of the earl himself, who declined not the combat, when Sir William Stanley broke in between them, and surrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he still maintained the combat; and at last sunk amid heaps of slain, who had fallen by his arm.

A life so infamous, it has been said by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit so glorious a death. But every man, surely, merits what his qualities enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirsty tyrant, but he was brave; and he died, as a brave man should, with his sword in his hand. He was brave to the last. It would have been, indeed, a matter of regret, had he died in his bed, after disturbing so cruelly the repose of mankind. But his death was sufficiently violent to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely decisive; the king not only being slain, but the whole royal army totally routed

routed and dispersed. The victorious troops, in a transport of joy, bestowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh," was resounded from all quarters with repeated acclamations.

In order to give some kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown which Richard wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which took place soon after, united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster.

Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had sat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England; and thus the civil wars, which had so long desolated the kingdom. A. D. 1483.

C H A P. XLV.

OF THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

THE first permanent step towards the revival of letters in Europe, was the erection of schools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed

shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day.

The schools erected by these great monarchs were entirely confined to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science in their hands degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was considered as dangerous to true piety, and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power.

The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction. Vigil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiously elated with the talent of heathenish reasoning. Aristotle's logic alone was recommended, because it was found capable of involving the simplest arguments,
and.

and of perplexing the plainest truths. It became the universal science. And Europe, for almost three centuries, produced no composition that can arrest the curiosity of a classical enquirer. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of scripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period.

But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of knowledge was wrested from the hand of superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth, about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterwards in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner. More numerous, and more useful branches of science were taught. A taste for ancient literature was revived; and some Latin poems were written, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire.

The human soul seems, at this period, to have roused itself, as from a lethargy. The same enthusiasm which prompted one set of men to signalize their valour in the Holy Land, inspired another with the ardour of transmitting to posterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of those pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures

adventures of former Christian heroes. These performances were composed in verse; and several of them with much elegance, and no small degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition. The Latin language, in which all science was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expence of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few.

Learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth*, made knowledge so general within a century after, that Italy began to compare in arts and letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar.

* In the year 1430, Laurentius, of Harleim, invented the art of printing, which he practised with separate wooden types. Gutenberg, afterwards invented cut metal types. But the art was carried to perfection by Peter Schoeffer, who invented the mode of casting the types in matrixes. Frederic Corfellis began to print at Oxford, in 1468, with wooden types; but it was William Caxton, who introduced into England the art of printing with fusile types, A. D. 1474.

C H A P.

C H A P. XLVI.

THE FEMALE CHARACTER ASSUMED NEW
CONSEQUENCE, UPON THE SETTLEMENT
OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS IN THE RO-
MAN EMPIRE.

WOMEN, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. They had few attentions paid them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation, as in the general commerce of life.

But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the softer sex, even in their native forests, had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with
them

them the respectful gallantry of the North, which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the West of Europe, a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance toward the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its *PRIMUM MOBILE*. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, and that lady was often the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour. For her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprize. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and adventures, seemingly fabulous, were more than realized.

The first was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism which they had inspired. They were not to be approached, but by the high-minded and the brave; and men then could only be admitted to the bosom
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of the chaste fair, after proving their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

C H A P. XLVII.

OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS
IN ENGLAND, ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE English court was, at that time, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Thither many accomplished foreigners resorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The spoils of France swelled the pomp of England; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilized its manners, by accustoming its haughty and insolent barons to the exercise of mutual complaisance.

Edward himself, and his illustrious son, the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courtesy. They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were constantly exhibited; and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

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The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crouded to such spectacles, arrayed in the richest habits, were the judges in those peaceful, though not always bloodless combats. And the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowess, became desirous of exciting other passions; besides that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aspired at an interest in the seat of the affections. Instead of the cold consent of virtue, he sought the warm return of love. Instead of acquiescence, he demanded sensibility.

Female pride was roused at such a request. Affiduities and attentions were employed to soothe it; and nature and custom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breast of women.

During the course of this sentimental struggle, which had its rise in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened more freedom of intercourse, and terminated in our present familiar manners, the two sexes mutually polished each other; the men acquired more softness and address, the women more knowledge and graces.

C H A P. XLVIII.

OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION.

AFTER that enormous privilege, which the Roman pontiff assumed, of disposing of crowns, and of releasing nations from their oath of allegiance, the most pernicious to society was that of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the successor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the spiritual treasury of the church, supposed to contain the super-abounding good works of the saints, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Out of this inexhaustible storehouse of super-abundant merit, his holiness might retail, at pleasure, particular portions to those who were deficient. He assumed, in short, and directly exercised, the right of pardoning sins; which was, in other words, granting a permission to commit them. For if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price any crime may be bought off, the encouragement

agement to vice is the same, as if a dispensation had been granted beforehand. And even that was frequently practised.

The influence of such an abuse upon morals, may easily be imagined; particularly in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness; when the church had every where provided sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate, persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence.

These indulgencies, or plenary pardons, which not only served as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead from the punishment of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II. as a recompence for those who engaged in the wild expedition to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to such as contributed money for that, or any other pious purpose; and the sums so raised were frequently diverted to other uses. They were employed to swell the state, to furnish the luxuries, or accomplish the ambitious enterprizes of the popes.

Leo the Tenth, that great patron of arts and of letters, having exhausted the papal treasury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works,
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and expensive pleasures, thought that he might employ, without danger, those pious frauds so successfully practised by the most ignorant of his predecessors. Accordingly he published a general sale of indulgences.

If any thing could apologize for a religious cheat, which tends to the subversion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in building that superb temple, the church of St. Peter, founded by his predecessor; and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occasion to forge pretences for this extension of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite scholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal-minded himself, and surrounded by liberal-minded men, he did not foresee that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of superstition, would shew them her errors, her impostures, her usurpations, and their own slavish condition. He did not reflect, that impositions practised with success in one age, may prove a dangerous experiment in another. But he had soon occasion to remember it.

C H A P. XLIX.

LUTHER WRITES AND PREACHES AGAINST
INDULGENCES. A. D. 1517.

THE abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and where the produce of particular districts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or custom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg. Luther was also incensed, it is said, that the privilege of vending this spiritual merchandise had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. But, be that as it may, he wrote and he preached against indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his discourses were listened to with admiration.

He appealed to reason and scripture for the truth of his arguments, not to the decisions of councils, or of popes. A corner of the veil was now opened. The people, ever fond of judging for themselves, (and in matters which concern themselves only, they have an undoubted right) flattered by this appeal, began to call in question
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that authority which they had formerly revered, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by success, extended his views, and ventured to declaim against other abuses. From abuses he proceeded to usurpations; from usurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romish church began to totter.

Leo, in the mean time, alarmed at the progress of this daring innovator, had summoned him to answer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the intercession of Frederic, surnamed the wise, Elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the Imperial court. For this end, among others, Cajetan attended the diet at Augsbourg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge, chosen from among his avowed adversaries.

The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured, at first, to gain him by gentle treatment. But finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station

to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was vested, to retract his errors, without shewing that they were such, and to abstain for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions.

Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with a prelate of such eminent abilities, was much mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not forsake him. He boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true, but offered to submit the whole controversy to the judgment of the learned, naming certain universities.

This offer was rejected by Cajetan, who still insisted on a simple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned to his own country.

The dispute was now carried on by writing on either side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly, and with success. As the controversy was new, his ignorance of many parts of the subjects was not greater than theirs; and ill as he wrote, they answered

answered still worse. Opinions are implanted upon the minds of mankind, rather by confidence and perseverance, than by strength of reasoning, or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perseverance than he. In vain did the pope issue out his bulls against him; in vain did the Dominican friars procure his writings to be burnt; he boldly abused the Dominicans, and burnt the pope's bull in the streets of Wittemberg.

CHAP. L.

OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

HENRY VIII. was born at Greenwich on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491, and succeeded his father, Henry VII., on the twenty-second of April, 1509, in the eighteenth year of his age.

Soon after his accession, he passed over into France, and took Tournay, and some other places. In the mean time, king James of Scotland invaded England, but was defeated at the famous battle of Floddenfield, when king James, many nobles, and 9000 common soldiers, were slain.

Henry, having received the education of a scholar, was consequently instructed in school-divinity, which was then the principal object of learned enquiry. Being, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that science, he obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and shewed some dexterity in this science, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him.

A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be withheld. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome, or St. Augustine; and rewarded the author with the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH; little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

About the year 1527, Henry began to have some scruples with regard to the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow, which, perhaps, were excited by a motive much more powerful than the tacit suggestions of his conscience.

It happened among the maids of honour, then attending the queen, there was one Anna Bullen, the Daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, a gentleman, of distinction, and related to most of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anna surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court; and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive, her stature elegant, though below the middle size, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements.

Henry, who had never learned the art of restraining any passion which he desired to gratify, saw and loved her. But after several efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal desires, he found, that without marriage, he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him, in order to procure a divorce, he alledged that his conscience rebuked him, for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. It is pretty evident, however, that on this occasion, he was influenced by the charms of Anna Bullen, whom

he married, before he had obtained from Rome the proper bulls of divorce from the pope.

Queen Anna Bullen lived with the king only till she had borne the princess Elizabeth. Soon after which she was cruelly beheaded, with some of her relations, on a charge of incontinency; of which there is the greatest reason to believe her innocent. Henry then married Jane Seymour, who died in child-bed of prince Edward; when, it being impossible to save both, he was asked which should be spared, the mother or the child, he replied, "That he could easily procure another wife, but he was not sure that he should have another son." He next married Anne of Cleves, whom he soon divorced, but suffered her to reside in England, on a pension of 3000 pounds a year. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was, like Anna Bullen, beheaded for ante-nuptial adultery. But Catharine Parr, his last wife, who was a widow when he married her, survived him.

A perplexing, though nice, conjuncture of affairs induced Henry, at last, to throw off all relation to, or dependence upon, the church of Rome, and to bring about a reformation; in which, however, many of the Romish errors and superstitions were retained. Henry never could have effected this mighty measure, had it not been for his despotic

potic disposition, which broke out on every occasion.

The dissolution of the religious houses, and the immense wealth that came to Henry, by seizing all the ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, enabled him to give full scope to his arbitrary temper; and his wishes, however unreasonable, were too readily complied with, in consequence of the shameful servility of his parliament. The best and most innocent blood of England was shed on scaffolds, and seldom any long time passed without being marked with some illustrious victim of his tyranny.

CHAP. LI.

OF THE DEATH OF KING HENRY: WITH REMARKS ON HIS REIGN.

HENRY's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had plainly been foreseen by all around him for some days. But, as it had been declared treason to foretell the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest, in the transports of his fury, he should order

der the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last, ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He signified his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The primate came, though not before the king was speechless. But, as he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign; affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure, in the hour of death, is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance, in this world, the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily we know, that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal, where every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in Heaven, which regarded the actions of men, nor any arm to punish.

Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party. But
Henry

Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our reformation had any connection with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other. The most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were employed in our holy redemption.

But the history of this reign yields us other lessons, than those of morality; lessons which come home to the heart of every Englishman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths; "That the most absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet the form of a free constitution remain." Nay, it even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That in this country, a tyrannical prince most successfully exercises his violences, under the shelter of those barriers, which the constitution has placed, as the security of national freedom; of our lives, our liberties, and our properties." Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of our laws. He exercised the most enormous

enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom. He loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and he pillaged them by loans, which it was known he never meant to pay. But he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its most doubtful privileges. The parliament was the grand instrument of his tyranny. It authorized his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts. It gave its sanction to his most violent and sanguinary measures; to measures, which, of himself he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity. Law would have been given to the tyrant's power; or some arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of such a monster, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts and reasoning is, (and it deserves our most serious attention) that the British constitution, though so happily poised, that no one part of it seems to preponderate;—though so admirably constructed, that every one of the three estates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houses of parliament upon the crown;—though the most
rational.

rational and perfect system of freedom which human wisdom has framed,—it is no positive security against the despotism of an artful or tyrannical prince;—and that, if Britons should ever be slaves, such an event is not likely to happen, as in France or Spain, by the abolition of our national assembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that supposed bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our slavery.

Our admirable constitution is but a gay shadow to conceal our shame, and the iniquity of our oppressors, unless our senators are animated by the same spirit which gave it birth. If they can be over-awed by threats, seduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promises, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench, once more, the scaffold with the best blood in the nation. The parliament will be the humble and secure minister of his tyrannies.

C H A P. LII.

OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THOMAS WOLSEY, the first who promoted the divorce of Catharine, Henry's first queen,
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was a butcher's son, of Ipswich, in Suffolk. He was a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, and greatly distinguished by his talents. Fox, bishop of Winchester, having introduced him to court, he soon obtained the deanery of Lincoln.

Henry VIII., who had a great affection for him, appointed him a member of his privy council; made him prime minister, a little after, bishop of Lincoln; and afterwards archbishop of York. By the interest of Francis I. he was raised to the purple; and Henry made him lord chancellor.

Not being satisfied with these preferments, Wolsey aimed at the pontifical chair, to which Charles V. had promised to raise him. But as that emperor failed to promote his interest in two conclaves, in the first whereof, he caused Adrian, formerly his tutor, to be elected pope; Wolsey, out of revenge, persuaded king Henry to solicit the divorce; which affair afterwards proved his ruin. For as Wolsey had not credit enough at the court of Rome to obtain the grant of those things, with the hopes of which he had flattered king Henry, he became odious to that prince; who, tired out with the continual complaints made against him, and the repeated solicitation of Anna Bullen, seized all his furniture, papers, and money,

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The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant furnifhes. Of fine holland alone there were found a thouſand pieces. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and ſilver. He had a cup-board of plate of maſſy gold. All the reſt of his riches and furniture were in proportion; and probably their greatneſs invited the hand of power.

The cardinal, after his diſgrace, was ordered to retire to Eſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton, there to await the king's further pleaſure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehenſion. Still, however, he was in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of York, and biſhopric of Wincheſter; and the king gave him diſtant gleams of hope, by ſending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious meſſage. Wolfeſey, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals, and mean to thoſe above him, happening to meet the king's meſſenger on horſeback, immediately alighted, and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that abjeſt manner, thoſe marks of His Maſteſty's condeſcenſion.

But his hopes were ſoon overturned; for, after he had remained ſome time at Eſher, he was ordered to remove to his ſee of York, where he took up his reſidence at Cawood, and rendered himſelf
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very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason; and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial.

On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester Abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolfey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him; and he immediately took his bed, whence he never rose more. "Had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state. For although the violence and obstinacy of Henry's character ought, perhaps, to apologize for many of the cardinal's public measures, his continued extortions upon the subject, by the most iniquitous methods, in what he called the Legantine Court, admit of no alleviation.

C H A P. LIII.

OF THE FRENCH MONARCH, FRANCIS THE
FIRST.

IN the reign of Francis I., contemporary with Henry VIII. of England, the French began to extend their influence over Europe. This prince, though he was brave to excess in his own person, and had defeated the Swifs, who till then were deemed invincible, was an unfortunate warrior. He was a candidate for the empire of Germany, but lost the Imperial crown; Charles V. of the house of Austria, and king of Spain, being chosen. Francis made some dazzling expeditions against Spain, but suffered his mother, of whom he was very fond, to abuse his power; by which he disoblged the constable of Bourbon, the greatest of his subjects, who joined in a confederacy against him, with the emperor, and Henry VIII. of England. He died in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalship subsisted between him and the emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe, in wars, prosecuted

prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period.

Many circumstances contributed to both. Their animosity was founded in opposition of interest heightened by personal emulation, and exasperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal insults. At the same time, whatever advantage one seemed to possess towards gaining the ascendant, was wonderfully balanced by some favourable circumstance, peculiar to the other.

The emperor's dominions were of great extent; the French king's lay more compact. Francis governed his kingdom with absolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he supplied the want of authority by address. The troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing; those of the latter, better disciplined, and more patient of fatigue.

The talents and abilities of the two monarchs were as different as the advantages which they possessed, and contributed no less to prolong the contest between them. Francis took his resolutions suddenly, prosecuted them at first with warmth, and pushed them into execution with a most adventurous courage. But being destitute of the perseverance necessary to surmount difficulties, he
often

often abandoned his designs, or relaxed the vigour of pursuit from impatience, and sometimes from levity.

Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolness; but having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obstinacy, and neither danger nor discouragement could turn him aside from the execution of it.

The success of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often disconcerted the emperor's best-laid schemes; Charles, by a more calm, but steady prosecution of his designs, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulsed his most vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war, or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter waiting until he saw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end, not only all that he had lost, but made new acquisitions. Few of the French monarch's attempts towards conquest, whatever promising aspect they might wear at first, were conducted to an happy issue; many of the emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared desperate and impracticable, terminated in the most prosperous manner. Francis
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was dazzled with the splendor of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the prospect of its turning to his advantage.

The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a strict scrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial consideration of the greatness and success of their undertakings; and Francis is one of those monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold.

Captivated with his personal qualities, his subjects forgot his defects as a monarch, and admiring him as the most accomplished and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of mal-administration, which, in a prince of less engaging dispositions, would have been deemed unpardonable.

C H A P. LIV.

OF QUEEN MARY, AND THE PERSECUTIONS
DURING HER REIGN.

KING Edward VI. reigned six years; during which time the reformation went on rapidly, through the zeal of Cranmer, and other divines.

Edward,

Edward, on his death-bed, from his attachment to the reformed religion, made a very unconstitutional will; for he set aside his sister Mary from the succession, which was claimed by lady Jane Grey, daughter to the dutchess of Suffolk, younger sister to Henry VIII. This lady, though she had scarcely reached her seventeenth year, was a prodigy of learning and virtue. But the bulk of the English nation recognized the claim of the princess Mary, who cut off lady Jane's head, and that of her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, son to the duke of Northumberland, who suffered in the same manner.

Mary being thus settled on the throne, was married to Philip II. king of Spain, who, like herself, was an unfeeling bigot to popery; and the chief praise of her reign is, that by the marriage articles, provision was made for the independence of the English crown. By the assistance of troops, which she furnished to her husband, he gained the important battle of St. Quintin. But that victory was so ill improved, that the French, under the duke of Guise, soon after took Calais, the only place then remaining to the English in France.

This event, together with the consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and despised by her

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husband,

husband, so much affected Mary, whose health had long been in a declining state, that she fell into a lingering fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign, in the year 1558. "When I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find Calais at my heart."

Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manner. And, amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; unless we add vigour of mind, a quality, which seems to have been inherent in her family.

During this queen's reign, persecution for religion was carried to the most terrible height. The mild counsels of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were over-ruled by Gardiner and Bonner; and multitudes of all conditions, ages, and sexes, were committed to the flames.

The persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children, yet did he continue firm in his principles; and such was his serenity after condemnation,

demnation, that the jailers, it is said, awaked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but sent to his own diocese to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper, to die in their fight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them; and he continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible punishment in his own diocese; and Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, perished together in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother; we shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as I trust in God will never be extinguished."

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was

offered him, if he would recant. But he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ! welcome, everlasting life!"

Cranmer had less courage at first. Terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe to the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and the real presence.

But the court, no less perfidious than cruel, determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterwards be led to execution.

Whether Cranmer received secret intelligence of their design, or repented of his weakness, or both, is uncertain; but he surprised the audience by a declaration, very different from what was expected. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscarriage in my life," said he, "of which, above all others, I severely repent,—the insincere declaration of faith, to which I had the weakness to subscribe.

subscribe. But I take this opportunity of atoning for my error, by a sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with my blood that doctrine, which I firmly believe to be communicated from heaven."

As his hand, he added, had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished by a severe, but just doom. He accordingly stretched it out, as soon as he came to the stake, to which he was instantly led, and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts, to use the words of an elegant and learned historian, appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, totally collected within itself, seemed superior to every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain.

C H A P. LV.

OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, KING OF SPAIN,
AND EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

CHARLES V. grandson of Maximilian, of the house of Austria, was elected emperor, in the year 1519. His extensive possessions in Europe, Africa, and, above all, America, from whence he drew immense treasures, began to alarm the jealousy of neighbouring princes, but could not satisfy the ambition of Charles; and we find him constantly engaged in foreign wars, or with his own protestant subjects, whom he in vain attempted to bring back to the catholic church. At last, after a long and turbulent reign, he came to a resolution which filled all Europe with astonishment:

Though he was no more than fifty-six, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, he determined to resign his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, and to withdraw himself entirely from any concern in the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend
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the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude.

Various have been the opinions of historians concerning a resolution so singular and unexpected. But the most probable seem to be, the disappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits were now become so frequent and severe, that not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were sensibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them any longer to the public eye. And, as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, he prudently determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happiness, which he had in vain pursued, amid the tumults of war, and intrigues of state.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles, who had already ceded to his son Philip the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, assembled the states of the Low-Countries at Brussels; and seating himself, for the last time, in the chair of

state, he explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon Philip.

Rising from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience; and from a paper, which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed, since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that, from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects; reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure: that, either in a pacific or hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low-Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that, while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue: that, now, when his health was broken,
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and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire; nor was he so fond of reigning, as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to render them happy: that, instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth, all the attention and sagacity of maturer years: that, if during the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error in government; or if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs, and amidst the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness; that, for his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for all his services; and, in his last prayers to Almighty God, would pour forth his ardent wishes for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees, and kissed his father's hand, "If," says he,

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"I had

“ I had left you, by my death, this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account. But now, when I voluntarily resign to you, what I might have still retained, I may well expect the warmest expressions of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense; and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof, which I, this day, give of my paternal affection; and to demonstrate, that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion. Maintain the catholic faith in its purity. Let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes. Encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people. And, if the time shall ever come when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son, endowed with such qualities, that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you.”

As soon as Charles had finished this long address to his subjects, and to their new sovereign,
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he sunk into the chair, exhausted, and ready to faint with the fatigue of such an extraordinary effort. During his discourse, the whole audience melted into tears; some from admiration of his magnanimity; others, softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a sovereign who had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

A few weeks afterwards, Charles, in an assembly no less splendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the Old and in the New World. Of all these vast possessions he reserved nothing for himself, but an annual pension of an hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.

The place he had chosen for his retreat, was the monastery of St. Justus, in the province of Estremadura. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. From the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature

of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain.

Here he buried, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects, which, during half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe; filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subjected to his power. Here he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from an enquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disengaged himself from its cares.

New amusements and new objects now occupied his mind. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden, with his own hands. Sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, he either admitted a few gentlemen, who resided in the neighbourhood, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or
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he employed himself in studying the principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches. And having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise and regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment, concerning the intricate and mysterious doctrines of religion. And here, after two years retirement, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in the fifty-ninth of his age, A. D. 1557.

C H A P. LVI.

OF THE MASSACRE OF THE HUGONOTS, OR
PROTESTANTS, AT PARIS. A. D. 1572.

FRANCIS II. being a weak, sickly, and inactive prince, his power was entirely engrossed by a prince of the house of Guise, uncle to his wife,
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the beautiful queen of Scotland. This engrossment of power encouraged the Bourbon, the Montmorenci, and other great families, to form a strong opposition against the government. Anthony, king of Navarre, was at the head of the Bourbon family. But the queen-mother, the famous Catherine of Medicis, being obliged to take part with the Guises, the confederacy, who had adopted the cause of Hugonotism, was broken in pieces, when the sudden death of Francis happened, in the year 1560.

The event took place while the prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre, was under sentence of death, for a conspiracy against the court. But the queen-mother saved him, to balance the interest of the Guises; so that the sole direction of affairs fell into her hands, during the minority of her second son, Charles IX. Her regency was a continued series of dissimulation, treachery, and murder. The duke of Guise, who was the scourge of the protestants, was treacherously murdered by one Poltrot, at the siege of Orleans; and the murderer was thought to have been instigated by the famous Coligni, admiral of France, who was then at the head of the protestant party. Three civil wars succeeded each other. At last, the court pretended to grant the Hugonots a very advantage-

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ous peace, and a match was concluded between Henry, the young king of Navarre, a protestant, and the French king's sister.

The heads of the protestants were invited to celebrate the nuptials at Paris, with the infernal view of butchering them all, if possible, in one night. The admiral was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Hugonots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced, to which there is nothing parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the cruelty and barbarity, with which it was put in execution. The protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé only being excepted from the general doom, and that on condition they should change their religion.

Charles in person led the way to this butchery, which was chiefly conducted by the Duke of Guise. The guards had been ordered to be under arms, The ringing of a bell was the signal; and the catholic citizens, though unprepared for such a scene, zealously seconded the fury of the soldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorse, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even
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of their relations. Persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, among whom was Coligni, with many other leaders of the party, were murdered in Paris alone; and near ten thousand persons of inferior condition. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces; and a like carnage ensued in Rouen, Lyons, and several other cities. Sixty thousand protestants are supposed to have been butchered in different parts of the kingdom.

As an apology for this barbarous perfidy, Charles pretended, that a conspiracy of the Hugonots to seize his person, had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own safety, to proceed to extremities against them.

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings, and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success.

Among the protestants it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he,

he, “sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies and courtiers, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and, as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutes.”

C H A P. LVII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLIC OF HOLLAND.

THE tyranny of Philip of Spain made the Dutch attempt to throw off his yoke, which occasioned a general insurrection. The counts Hoorn, Egmont, and the prince of Orange, appearing at the head of it, and Luther's reformation gaining ground at the same time in the Netherlands, his disciples joined the malecontents. Whereupon king Philip introduced a kind of inquisition, in order to suppress them; and many thousands were put to death by that court, besides those who perished by the sword. Count Hoorn and count Egmont were taken and beheaded. But the prince of Orange, whom they elected to be their stadtholder,

der, retiring into Holland, that province, and those adjacent to it, entered into a treaty for their mutual defence.

The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, in the year 1579, and signed that famous union, in appearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces, independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

It was agreed, That the seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that in all disputes between either of the provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators; and that they shall assist each other, with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any particular province.

The first coin struck after this alliance is strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *INCERTUM QUO FATA FERANT.* "I know not whither fate may carry me."

Though these revoltors at first were thought so despicable, as to be termed Beggars by their tyrants,

rants, their perseverance and courage were such, under the prince of Orange, and the assistance afforded them by queen Elizabeth, both in troops and money, that they forced the crown of Spain at last to declare them a free people, about the year 1609: and afterwards they were declared by all Europe to be an independent state, under the title of THE UNITED PROVINCES.

C H A P. LVIII.

OF THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA,
BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PHILIP, king of Spain, made use of the immense sums which he drew from Mexico and Peru, in equipping the most formidable armament that perhaps had ever been put to sea, under the prince of Parma, the best captain of that age. This fleet, which was called the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, consisted of an hundred and thirty vessels, and carried about twenty thousand land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance.

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Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt upon the news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade England. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small, in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger.

The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to exercise the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the same dangers, and the same fate with them. "I myself," said she, "will be your general, your judge, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. Your alacrity has already deserved its rewards; and, on the word of a prince they shall be duly paid you. Persevere then in your obedience to command, shew your valour in the field, and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people."

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity. Although the English fleet

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was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as Lord Admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him.

Effingham, who was informed of the approach of the Spanish fleet by a Scotch pirate, had just time to get out of port, when he saw it coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly described by the historians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the Armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, that, though the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with supporting, and the
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winds been tired with impelling so enormous a weight.

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the enemy, on account of the size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board. But a few trials convinced him, that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English.

Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them, while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

It was now evident that the purpose of the Armada was entirely frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting

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ing soldiers, not for fighting, positively refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to return home. But, as the winds were contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to make the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the invincible Armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain glorious enterprize would have been truly illustrious to the English; but the event was scarce less fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys. The ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea; and the mariners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen. Yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received, with an air of tranquillity, the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet," said he,
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“to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised that the calamity is not greater.

C H A P. LIX.

THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH,
BY MR. HUME.

QUEEN ELIZABETH died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

There are few personages in history, who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth, and yet there is scarce any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgement with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy,

stancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person, who ever filled a throne. A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempted from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her enterprise from turbulency, and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care, or equal success, from less infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper, and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over the people; and while she merited all their esteem, by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections, by her pretended ones.

Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform

success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret of managing religious factions, she preserved her people by her superior prudence, from those confusions, in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations. And, though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able, by her vigour, to make deep impressions on their state. Her own greatness, in the mean time, remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wise ministers and brave warriors, who flourished during her reign, share the praise of her success; but instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They all owed their advancement to her choice. They were supported by her constancy; and with all their ability, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her.

In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress. The force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat, which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable, because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses, by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and to consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her, as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and admiration.

C H A P. LX.

OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AND THE ASSASSINATION OF RIZZIO.

MARY was daughter to James V., king of Scotland, and to Mary of Lorraine, eldest daughter to the duke of Guise. She married Francis II., king of France, upon which occasion she assumed the title of Queen of England; pretending that Elizabeth was illegitimate, and consequently unworthy to sit on the throne. But Mary becoming a widow by the death of her consort, the French monarch, left France, and returned to her own kingdom. She then married her cousin, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, the handsomest man in Great Britain.

The queen, however, dazzled by his pleasing exterior, had entirely forgot to look to the accomplishments of his mind. Darnley was but a weak and ignorant man; violent, yet variable in his enterprizes; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness.

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Mary, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her encreasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every person, whom he esteemed the cause of this change in her sentiments and behaviour.

There was then at court one David Rizzio, the son of a musician at Turin, himself a musician, who finding it difficult to subsist by his art in his own country, had followed the ambassador from that court into Scotland. As he understood music to perfection, and sung a good bass, he was introduced into the queen's concert, who was so taken with him, that she desired the ambassador, upon his departure, to leave Rizzio behind. The excellence of his voice soon procured him greater familiarities: and although he was by no means handsome, but rather ugly, the queen seemed to place peculiar confidence in him, and ever kept him next her person.

Her secretary for French dispatches, having some time after fallen under her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, who being shrewd, sensible, and aspiring beyond his rank, soon after began to entertain hopes of being promoted to the

important office of chancellor of the kingdom. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; and all suitors were first obliged to gain Rizzio to their interests by presents or by flattery.

It was easy to persuade a man of Darnley's jealous temper, that Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affection from him; and a surmise once conceived became to him a certainty. He soon therefore consulted with some lords of his party, stung as he was with envy, rage, and resentment; and they not only fanned the conflagration in his mind, but offered their assistance to dispatch Rizzio.

George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsey, settled the circumstances of this poor creature's assassination among them; and determined that, as a punishment for the queen's indiscretion, the murder should be committed in her presence.

Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, some other servants, and her favourite Rizzio.

Lord Darnley led the way into the apartment by a private stair-case, and stood for some time
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leaning at the back of Mary's chair. His fierce looks, and unexpected intrusion, greatly alarmed the queen, who, nevertheless, kept silence, not daring to call out. A little after, lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and the other conspirators, rushed in, all armed, and shewing in their looks, the brutality of their intentions. The queen could no longer restrain her terrors, but demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven made her no answer; but ordered Rizzio to quit a place of which he was unworthy. Rizzio now saw that he was the object of their vengeance; and trembling with apprehension, took hold of the queen's robes to put himself under her protection, who, on her part, strove to interpose between the assassins and him. Douglas, in the mean time, had reached the unfortunate Rizzio; and snatching a dagger from the king's side, while the queen filled the room with her cries, plunged it, in her presence, into Rizzio's bosom, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and dragged into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess continued her lamentations; but being informed of his fate, at once dried her tears, saying, "I will weep no more, I will now think of revenge." The insult

on her person, the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed, on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and complicated, as scarcely, indeed, to admit of pardon, even from the greatest lenity.

C H A P. LXI.

OF THE DEATH OF DARNLEY, AND THE FATE OF MARY.

LORD Darnley did not long survive Rizzio. The house in which he lay was soon after blown up with gunpowder, in the middle of the night. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contusion. No doubt could be entertained, but that he was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator. And, as the queen married Bothwell at Edinburgh, a little after, many were of opinion, that Darnley was put to death by her consent and connivance. The consequence was, an insurrection of the people, from whom Mary fled into England,

England, where she was ungenerously detained a prisoner eighteen years, and afterwards beheaded by Queen Elizabeth, under pretence of being an accomplice in certain conspiracies formed against her person.

Mary owned, indeed, that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only pursuing the dictates of nature; but as for harbouring a thought against the life of the queen, she treated the idea with horror.

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declaration of her secretaries. But the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. Besides, they were not confronted with her, though she desired that they might; and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence. But the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of her unprecedented trial.

Never did Mary appear so great as in this last scene of her life. She was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had

been excluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell, he burst into tears; bewailing the condition of a mistress whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of such a mournful event, as the catastrophe which awaited her. "Weep not, good Melvil," replied she, "there is, at present, greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. Bear witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted without cause for my blood."

On ascending the scaffold, she began, with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper garments; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, "I have not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets!" Then, making a solemn protestation of her innocence, she soon after laid her
head

head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude.

Such was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the most amiable and accomplished of her sex; who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and in the nineteenth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealousy and to the fears of an offended rival. But, though Mary's trial was illegal, and her execution arbitrary, history will not permit us to suppose, that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the excellences both of body and mind, which can adorn the female character, she had many of the weaknesses of a woman, which were the source of all her misfortunes.

C H A P. LXII.

OF HENRY THE FOURTH OF FRANCE, DE-
SERVEDLY NAMED THE GREAT.

HENRY applied himself, with wonderful attention and success (assisted, in all his undertakings, by his minister, the great Sully) to cultivate the happiness of his people, by encouraging manufactures,

factures, particularly that of silk, the benefit of which France feels at this day. Having re-established the tranquillity, and, in a great measure, secured the happiness of his people, he formed connections with the neighbouring powers, for reducing the ambition of the house of Austria; for which purpose, it is said, he laid deep schemes, and collected a formidable army. Others say, that he designed to have formed Christendom into a great republic, of which France was to be the head.

Whatever may be in these conjectures, it is certain, that while he was making preparations for the coronation of his queen, Mary of Medicis, and was ready to enter upon his grand expedition, he was assassinated in his coach in the streets of Paris, by one Ravilliac, a desperate fanatic, who mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amidst six more of his courtiers.

The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently still a heretic in his heart. He did not offer to make
his

his escape, and seemed much surprized at the detestation in which his crime was held.

Thus perished Henry IV., one of the greatest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France; and with him perished all his great designs. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind, than is suggested by this untimely event; that a wretch, unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should overturn the most illustrious enterprizes, and terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions!

Henry's greatest weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was still a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, nor to influence him in the choice of his servants.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXIII.

OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

THE gunpowder plot was a scheme of the Roman Catholics to cut off, at one blow, on the fifth of November, 1605, the king, lords, and commons, at the meeting of parliament, when it was also expected that the queen and prince of Wales would be present. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable. The hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near eighteen months. But when all motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, a remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a design of saving the life of Lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message.

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The letter was to this effect: "My lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire to your country seat, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation, between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable
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to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. But the search was purposely delayed till the night immediately preceding the meeting, when a justice of peace was sent, with proper attendants, and before the door of the vault under the upper house, finding one Faux, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and at the same time discovered in the vault 36 barrels of powder, which had been carefully concealed under faggots and piles of wood. Every thing proper for setting fire to the train was found in Guy Faux's pocket, whose countenance bespoke his savage disposition, and who, after regretting that he had lost the opportunity of destroying so many heretics, made a full discovery; and the conspirators, who never exceeded eighty in number, being seized by the country people, confessed their guilt, and were executed in different parts of England.

Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigotted Catholics were so devoted to Garnet, a jesuit, one of the conspirators, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was considered as a martyr.

C H A P. LXIV.

OF CHARLES THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.

THE many struggles between king Charles, who wanted to assume to himself the absolute power of disposing of his people's property; and the parliament, who were willing to grant the king the necessary supplies, provided their grievances were redressed, and the rightful privileges of the subjects secured, at last produced a civil war. The first fatal blow the king's army received, was at Marston-moor, where, through the imprudence of prince Rupert, the earl of Manchester defeated the royal army, of which 4000 were killed, and 1500 taken prisoners. This victory was owing chiefly to the courage and conduct of Cromwell; and though it might have been retrieved by the successes of Charles in the west, yet his whole conduct was a string of mistakes, till at last his affairs became irretrievable.

It is true, many treaties of peace, particularly one at Uxbridge, were set on foot during the war, and the heads of the Presbyterian party would have agreed to terms that would have bounded the king's prerogative. They were outwitted, betrayed, and over-

over-ruled by the independents, who were assisted by the stiffness and unamiable behaviour of Charles himself. In short, the independents at last succeeded, in persuading the members at Westminster, that Charles was not to be trusted, whatever his concessions might be.

From that moment the affairs of the royalists rushed into ruin. Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose father, lord Fairfax, remained in the north, was at the head of the army, which was now new modelled; so that Charles in a short time lost all his towns and forts, and was defeated by Fairfax and Cromwell, at the decisive battle of Naseby, owing partly, as usual, to the misconduct of prince Rupert. This battle was followed by fresh misfortunes to Charles, who retired to Oxford, the only place where he thought he could be safe.

The Scots were then besieging Newark; and no good understanding subsisted between them and the English parliamentarians; but the best and most loyal friends that Charles had, thought it prudent to make their peace. In this melancholy situation of his affairs, he escaped in disguise from Oxford to the Scotch army before Newark, upon a promise of protection. The Scots, however, were so intimidated, by the resolutions of the parliament at Westminster, that they put the person of Charles
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into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, probably not suspecting the consequences.

The Presbyterians were now more inclined than ever to make peace with the king, but they were no longer masters, being forced to receive laws from the army, and the independents. The latter now avowed their intentions. They first by force took Charles out of the hands of the commissioners, and then, dreading that a treaty might still take place with the king, they imprisoned 41 of the Presbyterian members, voted the house of peers to be useless; and that of the commons was reduced to 150 independents, most of whom were officers of the army.

In the mean time Charles, who unhappily promised himself relief from those dissensions, was carried from prison to prison, and sometimes cajoled by the independents with hopes of deliverance, but always narrowly watched.

Several treaties were begun, but all miscarried; and he had been imprudent enough, after his effecting an escape, to put himself into colonel Hammond's hands, the parliament's governor of the Isle of Wight. A fresh negociation was begun, and almost finished, when the independents, dreading the general disposition of the people for peace, and strongly persuaded of the insincerity of the king, once more seized

seized upon his person, brought him a prisoner to London, carried him before a court of justice of their own erecting, and after an extraordinary trial, condemned him to die.

C H A P. LXV.

OF THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES.

WHEN Charles, after his trial, returned to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for execution. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them; and

and thy head too will they cut off at last, and therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended, that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting House to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues as his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the ax, and two executioners in masques. The people, in crowds, stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event.

The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons, who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example. He declared, that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority entire, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his maker. He owned, that he was justly punished, for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor. He also signified his attachment to the Protestant religion, as professed by the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him, " There is, Sir,
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but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange," replied the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown; a good exchange."

Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from the body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

The spectators testified their horror, at that sad spectacle, in sighs, tears, and lamentations. The tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either with active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, which used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites,
who,

who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Charles was executed on the thirtieth of January 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His aspect was pleasing, but melancholy; and it is probable, that the continual troubles in which he was involved, might have made that impression on his countenance. In his private character he was amiable and exemplary. "He was," says lord Clarendon, "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian of the age in which he lived." All his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues were the genuine offspring of his heart.

He lived at a time, when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accomodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings, before him, expired by treason, or assassinations; but never, since the times of Agis, the Lacedemonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects, with all the formalities of justice.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXVI.

OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S USURPATION.

OLIVER CROMWELL was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon, and was born the twenty-fourth of April, 1599. Being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. From accident, or intrigue, he was chosen member for Cambridge in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, and much dissimulation, he rose through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax, but, in reality, possessing the supreme command of the whole army. After several victories, he gained the battle of Naseby; and this, with other successes, soon put an end to the war.

In 1649, Cromwell was sent general into Ireland, when, in about nine months, he subdued almost that whole kingdom, and leaving his son-in-

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law Ireton, to complete the conquest, returned to England. In 1650, he was appointed general and commander in chief of all the forces of the commonwealth, and set out on his march against the Scots, who had espoused the royal cause, and placed young Charles, the son of their late monarch, on the throne.

In 1651, he totally defeated the royalists at Worcester, when the king himself was obliged to flee. After having undergone an amazing variety of dangers and distresses, he landed safely at Feshamp, in Normandy, no less than forty persons having at different times been privy to his escape.

In the mean time, Cromwell, crowned with success, returned to London, where he was met by the Speaker of the house of commons, accompanied by the mayor and magistrates of London, in their formalities.

Having now but little employment, he began to be afraid that his services would be forgotten; he therefore pretended to be dissatisfied with the long parliament. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating. Upon which he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing, which made the very hair of his head
stand

stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members; "For shame," said he, "get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against his conduct: "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whore-master; to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is you, (continued he to the members) who have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon

this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away," cried he, "that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centered in Cromwell only.

He next annihilated the council of state, with whom the executive power was lodged, and transferred the administration of government to about 140 persons, whom he summoned to Whitehall.

Cromwell all this while wanted to be declared king, but he perceived, that he must encounter unsurmountable difficulties from Fleetwood, and his other friends, if he should persist in his resolution. He was, however, declared lord protector of the commonwealth of England; a title, under which he exercised all the power, which had been formerly annexed to the regal dignity.

He next proceeded to new model the government, and various were the schemes which were proposed, established, and proved abortive. But those schemes were temporary, and suited to each juncture; and it was by his management of the army that he did every thing. He was openly or
secretly

secretly thwarted by people of property all over England; and however dazzled historians have been with his amazing fortune and power, it appears, from the best evidences, that during the continuance of his protectorate, he was perpetually distressed for money to keep the wheels of his government going.

In the last year of Cromwell's usurpation, a book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled KILLING NO MURDER. Of all the pamphlets which came forth at that time, or perhaps of those which have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Shall we, said this popular declaimer, who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf? Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He found, that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former tranquillity, was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his mind. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a

glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

The protector's body at last, began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms; and he, at length, saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confidence rely," said Goodwin. "Then am I safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a state of grace!"

Elated by new visitations and assurances, he began to believe his life out of all danger, notwithstanding

ing the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them with great emotion,—“I tell you I shall not die of this distemper! Favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord!”

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to providence, for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery. He died on the third day of September, 1658, being then fifty-nine years old.

C H A P. LXVI.

THE CHARACTER OF CROMWELL.

THE vigour of Cromwell's genius, and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding, or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his

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countrymen,

countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, have been much over-rated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the Covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with those that were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act.

He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures; and of commanding the highest respect, amid the coarsest familiarity. By these talents, together with a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach, and to manage the military fanatics; and by their assistance to subdue the parliament, and to tyrannize over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing extraordinary;

traordinary ; for an army is so forcible, and at the same time so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptionable as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel or unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity; and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

C H A P. LXVIII.

OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES THE
SECOND.

AFTER an exile of twelve years in France and Holland, Charles was restored to the throne of his ancestors, A. D. 1660. It is in vain for historians of any party to ascribe his restoration to the merits of particular persons. It was effected by the general concurrence of the people, who seem to have thought, that neither peace nor protection were to be obtained, but by restoring the ancient constitution of monarchy.

General Monk, a man of military abilities; and at the head of the army, had the sagacity to observe this; and, after temporizing in various shapes, he made the principal figure in restoring Charles II. For this he was created duke of Albemarle, confirmed in the command of the army, and loaded with honours and riches.

When the new parliament first met, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the
late

late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general having sufficiently founded the inclinations of the commons, gave directions to Annesly, president of the council, to inform them, that Sir John Granville, one of the king's servants, was now at the door with a letter from his majesty to the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the house, on this intelligence. Granville was called in; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed. All at once, the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted, that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions, but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to arrears, and to give the same rank

to his officers, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords, than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty; and he was soon after proclaimed, with great solemnity, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar.

The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure. And, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the royalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt, who had lately done so much mischief.

A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own, subjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was,

at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the latter; and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The States-General, in a body, made their compliments to him, with the greatest solemnity; and all ambassadors, and foreign ministers, expressed the joy of their masters, at his change of fortune.

The English fleet came in sight of the Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet as high admiral. When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. Very different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the English coast at Suffex. He now saw the same people, who had ardently fought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delusions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way, wherever

wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight, to behold their constitution restored; or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous, from the ruin of its former conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return; and it had been happy for the people, if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

C H A P. LXIX.

OF THE REVOLUTION. A. D. 1688.

ALL the opposition which, during the reign of the second Charles, had shaken the throne, seems to have vanished at the accession of James II. The popular affection towards him was increased, by the early declaration he made in favour of the church of England, which, during the late reign, had

had formally pronounced all resistance to the reigning king to be unlawful. This doctrine proved fatal to James, and almost ruined protestantism. The army and people supported him, in crushing an ill-concerted rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, who pretended to be the lawful son of Charles II. and as such had assumed the title of king. That duke's head being cut off, James desperately resolved to try, how far the practice of the church of England would agree with her doctrine of non-resistance. The experiment failed him. He made the most provoking steps to render popery the established religion of his dominions. He pretended to a power of dispensing with the known laws. He instituted an illegal ecclesiastical court. He openly received and admitted into his privy-council, the pope's emissaries, and gave them more respect than was due to the ministers of a sovereign prince. The encroachments he made, both upon the civil and religious liberties of his people, are almost beyond description, and were disapproved of by the pope himself, and all sober Roman Catholics. His sending to prison, and prosecuting for a libel, seven bishops, for presenting a petition against reading his declaration, and their acquittal upon a legal trial, alarmed his best Protestant friends.

In

In this extremity, many great men in England and Scotland, though they wished well to James, applied for relief to William prince of Orange, in Holland, a prince of great abilities, and the inveterate enemy of Lewis XIV. who then threatened Europe with chains. The prince of Orange was the nephew and son-in-law of James, having married the princess Mary, his eldest daughter. He was no stranger to the murmurs of the English, and was resolved to turn them to his interests. He therefore accepted the invitation, and still more willingly embarked in the cause, as he found the malecontents had concerted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

A fleet was equipped sufficient to transport fifteen thousand troops; and it was at first given out, that this armament was designed against France. James, at length, began to see his own errors and the discontents of the people. He would now, have retracted his measures in favour of popery, but it was too late. The fleet of the prince was already sailed, and had landed thirteen thousand troops at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay.

The expectations of the prince of Orange seemed, at first to be frustrated. Very few Englishmen offered him their services, though the people were, in general, well affected to his design. Slight repulses

pulses were not sufficient to intimidate a general, who had, from early youth, encountered adversity. He continued ten days in expectation of being joined by the malecontents without success; but, just when he began to deliberate about reembarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and the country people came flocking to his standard. From this day his numbers began to increase. The nobility, who had composed the court and council of king James, now left their old master to solicit protection from the new.

Lewis XIV. had long foreseen this defection, and had formerly offered the king thirty thousand men for his security. This was then refused by James, by the advice of Sunderland, his favourite, who was secretly in the interest of the prince of Orange. James, however, now requested assistance from France, when it was too late. He wrote in vain to Leopold, emperor of Germany, who only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. He had some dependence on his fleet, but they were entirely disaffected. In a word his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself. He was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men; and it is possible, that had he led them to the combat, without

without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions. The defection of those he most confided in, took away his power and deliberation; and his perplexity was increased, when told that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, had gone over to the prince of Orange. In this exigence he could not repress his tears, and, in the agony of his heart, was heard to exclaim, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!"

He now hung over the precipice of destruction, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, hated by his subjects, and detested by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty. He assembled the few noblemen who still adhered to his interests, and demanded their advice and assistance. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who was beheaded by James's intrigues in the preceding reign, "My lord," said he, "you are an honest man, have great credit, and can do me signal services."—"Ah! Sir," replied the earl, "I am old and feeble, and can do you but little service; but I once had a son, who could have assisted you, but he is no more." James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

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The king was naturally timid; and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or bribed by the prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of Charles I. and aggravated the turbulence of the people. He was at length, persuaded to think of flying from a nation he could no longer govern, and of taking refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of finding assistance and protection. Thus instructed, he first sent away his queen, who arrived safely at Calais; and soon after, disguising himself in a plain dress, he went down, to Feversham, and embarked on board a small vessel for France.

But his misfortune still continued to follow him. The vessel was detained by the common people, who, not knowing their sovereign, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London, where he was once more received amidst the acclamations of the people.

The return of James was by no means agreeable to William, though he well knew how to dissimble. It was his interest and his design to increase the forsaken monarch's apprehensions, so as to indulge him to flee. He therefore received the news of his return with a haughty air, and ordered
him

him to leave Whitehall, and retire to Richmond. The king remonstrated against Richmond, and desired that Rochester might be appointed as the place of his abode. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom, nor did the one wish for flight more ardently, than the other desired him away. The king soon concurred with his designs. After staying but a short time at Rochester, he fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for France, and arrived in safety, to enjoy, for the rest of life, the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a saint, a title which still flattered him more. There he continued to reside among a people, who pitied, ridiculed, and despised him. He enrolled himself in the order of Jesuits; and the court of Rome, for whom he had lost all, repaid him only with indulgences and pasquinades.

Amid all his misfortunes, Lewis XIV., who was an accomplished gentleman, as well as a great king, treated him with much tenderness and respect; but some of the French courtiers were less polite than their sovereign. "There," said one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a simpleton, who has lost three kingdoms for a mass."

From this period the constitution of England, which had fluctuated for so many ages, was fixed.

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The nation, represented by its parliament, determined the long-contested limits between the king and the people. They prescribed to the prince of Orange the terms by which he was to rule, and chose him for king, jointly with Mary, who was the next protestant heir to the crown. They were crowned by the title of William III. and Mary, king and queen of England. The prince saw his ambition at length gratified; and his wisdom was repaid with that crown, which the folly of his predecessor had given away.

C H A P. LXX.

OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.

HAD it not been for the influence of the Jesuits over James, the prince of Orange might have found his views upon the crown frustrated. The conduct of James gave him advantages which he could not otherwise have hoped for. Few were in the prince's secret; and when a convention of the states was called there seemed reason to believe, that had not James abdicated his throne, it would not have been filled by the prince and princess of Orange.

Orange. Even then it was not done without long debates.

King William's chief object was to humble the power of France, and his reign was spent in an almost uninterrupted course of hostilities with that power, which were supported by England, at an expence she had never known before. But at length the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions, in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted; and for all her blood and treasure, the only equivalent she had received, was the king of France's acknowledgment of king William's title to the crown.

The king, after being freed from foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his authority at home. He conceived hopes of keeping up the forces that were granted him in time of war, during the continuance of peace. But he was not a little mortified to find that the commons had passed a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; and that those retained should be natural English subjects.

A standing army was this monarch's greatest delight. He had been bred up in camps, and knew

no

no other pleasure, but that of reviewing troops, or dictating to generals. He professed himself, therefore, entirely displeased with the proposal; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from his resolution, and persuaded him to consent to passing the bill. Such were the altercations between the king and his parliament; which continued during this reign. He considered his commons as a set of men desirous of power, and consequently resolved upon obstructing all his projects. He seemed but little attached to any party in the house. He veered from whigs to tories, as interest, or immediate exigence, demanded.

England he considered as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. He used to retire to his seat, at Loo, in Holland, for those moments which he dedicated to pleasure or tranquillity. It was in this quiet retreat that he planned the different successions of Europe, and laboured to undermine the politics of Lewis XIV., his insidious rival in power, and in fame. Against France his resentment was ever levelled; and he had made vigorous preparations for entering into a new war with that kingdom, when death interrupted the execution of his schemes.

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He was naturally of a very feeble constitution, and it was now almost exhausted by a life of continual action and care. He endeavoured to conceal the increase of his infirmities, and repair his health by riding. In one of his excursions to Hampton-Court, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown off with such violence that his collar-bone was fractured. This, in a robust constitution, would have been a trifling misfortune, but to him it was fatal. Perceiving his end approach, the objects of his former care still lay next his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him, in private, on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tennison, he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

C H A P. LXXI.

THE CHARACTER OF KING WILLIAM.

HE was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful

graceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary in his humour.

To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a great commander.

He has been severely, and justly blamed, for those intrigues, which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart seems to have been as dead to the sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the charms of literature, and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is possible, that while guiding the great political system, he might be led by the illusions of ambition, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a necessary sacrifice to the welfare of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion.

England, at least, was obliged to him for abetting her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for these blessings, by being involved in wast-

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ing foreign wars, in some measure rendered necessary indeed, by the supineness of her two preceding princes, but in which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the contagious practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars; and by their unavoidable consequence, a ruinous national debt, which daily accumulating, and increasing the influence of the crown, threaten to leave us neither liberty nor property.

C. H. A. P. LXXII.

OF QUEEN ANNE.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, being the next Protestant heir to her father James II., succeeded king William in the throne. As she had been ill treated by the late king, it was thought she would have deviated from his measures. But the behaviour of the French, in acknowledging the title of her brother, who has since been well known by the name of the Pretender, left her no choice. She therefore resolved to fulfil all William's engagements with his allies, and to employ the earl
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of Marlborough, who had been imprisoned in the late reign, on a suspicion of Jacobitism, as her general. She could not have made a better choice of a general and a statesman; for that earl excelled in both capacities. No sooner was he placed at the head of the English army abroad, than his genius and activity gave a new turn to the war; and he became as much the favourite of the Dutch, as his wife was of the queen.

He gave the first proofs of his wisdom, by advancing the subaltern officers, whose merits had hitherto been neglected. He gained the enemy's posts without fighting, ever advancing, and never losing one advantage which he had gained.

To this general was opposed, on the side of France, the duke of Burgundy, grandson of the king; a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army. The marshal Boufflers, a man of courage and activity, commanded under him. But these qualifications in both were forced to give way to the superior power of their adversary. After being forced to retire by the skilful marches of Marlborough, after having seen several towns taken, they gave up all hopes of acting offensively, and concluded the campaign with resolutions to prosecute the next with greater vigour.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, received the rewards of his merit, being thanked by the house of Commons, and created a duke by the queen. He afterwards obtained many glorious victories; but those of Blenheim and Ramillies gave the first effectual checks to the French power. By that of Blenheim the empire of Germany was saved from immediate destruction. Though prince Eugene was that day joined in command with the duke, yet the glory of the day was confessedly owing to the latter. The French general, Tallard, was taken prisoner, and sent to England; and 20,000 French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or drowned in the Danube, besides about 13,000 who were taken, and a proportionable number of cannon, artillery, and trophies of war.

About the same time, the English admiral, Sir George Rooke, reduced Gibraltar, which still remains in our possession.

The battle of Ramillies was fought and gained under the duke of Marlborough alone. The loss of the enemy there has been variously reported. It is generally supposed to have been 8000 killed or wounded, and 6000 taken prisoners.

C H A P. LXXIII.

OF THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOT-
LAND. A. D. 1706

THE union of England and Scotland under one legislature, which had been so long and so ardently desired by some of the wisest heads, and best hearts in the two British kingdoms, was at last accomplished; and, in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the succession to the Scottish crown, fortunately prevented.

The principal articles in this treaty of incorporation were, "That the two kingdoms should be united into one, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; that the succession of the united kingdom should remain to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; that the whole people of Great Britain should be represented by one parliament, in which sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote; that the subjects of the united kingdom should enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, and a reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom;

dom; that the laws in regard to public right, policy, and government, should be the same throughout the whole island, but that no alteration should be made in the laws respecting private property; and that all the courts of judicature in Scotland should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom."

These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority. But this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry, who had proposed it.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scotch parliament to come into the measure, it was alleged by the ministry, and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations.

tions. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce. The whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests, so as to be enabled to resist all its enemies, to support the Protestant interest, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shewn that the taxes, which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means proportionable to their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union addressed to the Scotch parliament.

In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance. That in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scotch were fired with indignation, at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded, in point of dignity and in-

fluence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies, as a very uncertain advantage.

In the English houses also it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would be always beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities.

It was said that the Scotch reluctantly yielded to this coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. The adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, zealously opposed the treaty; as did also many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of mere patriotism. Of those, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher of Salton; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, a lofty courage, a bold eloquence, and an incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the passing of the Act of Union, and believing it impossible, that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient

cient monarchy, without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their reproach, by condescending so far as to live among them.

On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, intreating him to stay. Even after his foot was in the stirrup, they continued their solicitations, anxiously crying, "Will you forsake your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, replied, "It is only fit for the slaves who sold it!" then leaped into the saddle, and put spurs to his horse, leaving them struck with a momentary humiliation; and, forgetting the extravagance of his conduct, at a loss which most to admire, the pride of his virtue, or the elevation of his spirit.

C H A P. LXXIV.

SACHEVEREL'S SERMONS IN DEFENCE OF THE
DOCTRINE OF NON-RESISTANCE ARE BURNT
BY THE COMMON HANGMAN. A. D. 1709.

DOCTOR Sacheverel, a clergyman of narrow intellects and bigotted principles, published

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two.

two sermons, in which he strongly insisted on the illegality of resisting kings, and enforced the divine origin of their authority; declaimed against the Dissenters, and exhorted the church to put on the whole armour of God. There was nothing in the sermons either nervous, well written, or clear. They owed all their celebrity to the completion of the times, and are at present justly forgotten. Sacheverel was impeached by the commons at the bar of the upper house. They seemed resolutely bent upon punishing him, and a day was appointed for trying him before the lords at Westminster Hall.

Mean while, the tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence, as the parliament had been in his prosecution. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. Queen Anne herself was every day present, as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day, as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success.

While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming,
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“ God bleſs your majeſty and the church ; we hope your majeſty is for doctor Sacheverel.” They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes, and plundered the dwellings of Diſſenters ; and the queen herſelf could not but reliſh thoſe doctrines, which contributed to extend her prerogative. The lords were divided. They continued undetermined for ſome time ; but at length, after much obſtinate diſpute and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty, by a majority of ſeventeen voices. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years ; and his two ſermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The lenity of this ſentence, which was, in a great meaſure, owing to the dread of popular reſentment, was conſidered by the Tories as a triumph ; and, in fact, their faction took the lead all the remaining part of queen Anne’s reign. They declared their joy in bon fires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage againſt his perſecutors.

Soon after, Sacheverel was preſented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went, with all the pomp and magnificence of a ſovereign prince. He was ſumptuouſly entertained by the univerſity of Oxford, and many noblemen in his way, who, while they worſhipped him as the idol of their

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faction,

faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by one Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. The church and Doctor Sacheverel, was the universal cry, and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

C H A P. LXXV.

OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

IGNORANCE and ambition were the great enemies of Lewis. Through the former, he was blind to every patriotic duty of a king, and promoted the interests of his subjects only that they might the better answer the purposes of his greatness. By the latter, he embroiled himself with all his neighbours, and wantonly rendered Ger-

many a dismal scene of devastation. His impolitic, and unjust revocation of the edict of Nantes, obliged the French Protestants to take shelter in England, Holland, and different parts of Germany, where they established the silk manufactories to the great prejudice of their own country. He made and broke treaties for his conveniency, and at last raised against himself a confederacy of almost all the other princes of Europe; at the head of which was king William III. of England. He was so well served, that he made head for some years against this alliance. But, having provoked the English by his repeated infidelities, their arms, under the duke of Marlborough, and those of the Austrians, under prince Eugene, rendered the latter part of his life as miserable, as the beginning of it was splendid.

His reign, from the year 1702 to 1711, was one continued series of defeats and calamities; and he had the mortification of seeing those places taken from him, which, in the former part of his reign, were acquired at the expence of many thousand lives. Just as he was reduced, old as he was, to the desperate resolution of collecting his people and dying at their head, he was saved by the English withdrawing from their allies, and concluding the peace of Utrecht, in 1713. He survived

survived his deliverance but two years; for he died on the first of September 1715, and was succeeded by his great-grandson, Lewis XV., the late king.

C H A P. LXXVI.

OF CHARLES THE TWELFTH OF SWEDEN.

CHARLES XI. died in 1697, and was succeeded by his minor son the famous Charles XII. The history of no prince is better known, than that of this hero. His father's will had fixed the age of his majority to eighteen; but it was set aside for an earlier date, by the management of count Piper, who became thereby his first minister.

Soon after his accession, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the czar of Moscow, formed a powerful confederacy against him, encouraged by the mean opinion they had of his youth and abilities. He made head against them all; and besieging Copenhagen, he dictated the peace of Travendahl to his Danish majesty, by which the duke

duke of Holstein was re-established in his dominions. Charles, who had never in his life, before this siege, heard a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked major Stuart, who stood near him, what the whistling which he heard meant. "It is the noise of bullets," replied the major, "which they fire against your majesty."—"Very well!" said the king;—"this shall henceforth be my music."

The czar Peter was at this time ravaging Ingria, at the head of 80,000 men, and had besieged Narva. The army of Charles did not exceed 20,000 men. But such was his impatience, that he advanced at the head of 8000, entirely routed the main body of the Russians, and raised the siege. Such were his successes, and so numerous his prisoners, that the Russians attributed his actions to necromancy.

Charles from thence marched into Saxony, where his warlike achievements equalled, if they did not excel, those of Gustavus Adolphus.

He dethroned Augustus, king of Poland, and raised Stanislaus, one of his favourite Swedish nobles, to the Polish crown. His name carried with it such terror, that he was courted by all the powers of Europe; and, among others, by the duke of Marlborough, in the name of queen Anne, amidst

amidst the full career of her successes against France.

His stubbornness and implacable disposition, however, were such, that he cannot be considered in a better light than that of an illustrious madman; for he lost, in the battle of Pultowa, which he fought in his march to dethrone the czar, more than all he had gained by his victories. His brave army was ruined, and he was forced to take refuge among the Turks at Bender. His actions there, in attempting to defend himself with 300 Swedes, against 30,000 Turks, prove him to have been worse than frantic. The Turks found it, however, convenient for their affairs to set him at liberty.

But his misfortunes did not cure his military madness; and after his return to his dominions, he prosecuted his revenge against Denmark, till he was killed by a cannon-shot, as it is generally said, at the siege of Fredericshall, in Norway, belonging to the Danes, in 1718, when he was no more than thirty-six years of age.

It has, however, been supposed that Charles was not, in reality, killed by a shot from the walls of Fredericshall, but that a pistol, from some nearer hand, from one of those about him, gave the decisive blow, which put an end to the life of this celebrated

celebrated monarch. This opinion is said to be very prevalent among the best informed persons in Sweden. And it appears, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had lost their richest provinces, their bravest troops, and their national riches; and who yet, untamed by adversity, pursued an unsuccessful and pernicious war, nor would ever have listened to the voice of peace, or consulted the internal tranquillity of his country.

No prince, perhaps, ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few estimable or amiable qualities, as Charles XII. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to the charms of the sex; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprize, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic
passion.

passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

C H A P. LXXVII.

OF PETER THE GREAT OF RUSSIA.

IT would far exceed the bounds prescribed to this work, to give even a summary detail of this prince's actions. I must content myself with giving a general view of his power, and the vast reformation he introduced into his dominions.

At a very early period, he associated himself with the Germans, for the sake of their manufactures, which he introduced into his dominions; and with the Dutch, for their skill in navigation, which he practised himself. His inclination for the arts was encouraged by his favourite Le Fort, a Piedmontese; and general Gordon, a Scotchman, disciplined the czar's own regiment, consisting of 5000 foreigners; while Le Fort raised a regiment of 12,000, among whom he introduced the French and German exercises of arms, with a view of employing them in curbing the insolence of the Strelitzes.

Peter,

Peter, after this, began his travels ; leaving his military affairs in the hands of Gordon. He set out as an attendant upon his own ambassadors. His adventures in Holland and England, and other courts, are too numerous to be inserted here. By working as a common ship-carpenter, at Deptford and Saardam, he compleated himself in ship-building ; and through the excellent discipline introduced among his troops by the foreigners, he not only over-awed or crushed all civil insurrections, but all his enemies on this side of Asia ; and at last he even exterminated, excepting two feeble regiments, the whole body of the Stretlizes.

He rose gradually through every rank and service both by sea and land ; and the many defeats which he received, especially that from Charles XII. at Narva, seemed only to enlarge his ambition, and extend his ideas. The battles he lost rendered him a conqueror upon the whole, by adding experience to his courage. The generous friendship he shewed to Augustus, king of Poland, both before and after he was dethroned by the king of Sweden, redounds greatly to his honour. He had no regard for rank distinct from merit ; and he at last married, by the name of Catherine, a young Lithuanian woman, who had been betrothed to a Swedish soldier ; because, after long cohabitation,

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he found her possessed of a soul formed to execute his plans, and to assist his counsels. Catharine was so much a stranger to her own country, that her husband afterwards discovered her brother, who served as a common soldier in his armies.

But military and naval triumphs, which succeeded one another after the battle of Pullowa with Charles XII. were not the chief glories of Peter's reign. He applied himself with equal assiduity, as I have already mentioned, to the cultivation of commerce, arts, and sciences. As he had visited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the useful arts, he made a journey into France in 1717, in order to become acquainted with those, which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artists, in every branch, allured by the prospect of advantage, followed him from France, to settle in Russia; and, on his return to Petersburg, he established a board of trade, composed partly of natives, and partly of foreigners, in order that justice might be impartially administered to all. One Frenchman began a manufactory of fine glass, for mirrors; another set up a loom for working curious tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and the third succeeded in the making
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of gold and silver lace. Linen cloth was made at Moscow, equal in fineness to that of the Low Countries; and the silks of Persia were manufactured at Petersburg in as great perfection as at Ispahan.

But Peter, after all his noble institutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himself no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for succeeding in the most difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the most magnificent designs; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will, he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease or happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to consider them as made solely for his, not he for their aggrandisement.

His savage ferocity and despotic severity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis, his only son, by his first wife, having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilization, he made him sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown; and lest that deed should not prove sufficient to exclude the czarowitz from the succession, he assembled an extraordinary court, consisting

consisting of the principal nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death, but without prescribing the manner in which it should be inflicted. The event, however, took place, and suddenly.

Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the surprize, occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain. We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he designed for his successor; and as the birth of his son had probably accelerated the prosecution, and increased the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible, but the friends of Catharine might hasten the death of the same prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflections, which must have succeeded so awful a transaction.

After this event, Peter ordered his wife Catharine to be crowned, with the same magnificent ceremonies, as if she had been a Greek empress, and to be recognized as his successor, which she accordingly

accordingly was, and mounted the Russian throne upon the decease of her husband. She died, after a glorious reign in 1727, and was succeeded by Peter II. a minor, son to the czarowitz.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

OF GEORGE THE FIRST, AND THE REBELLION
IN 1715.

UPON the death of queen Anne, pursuant to the act of succession, George I. son of Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Brunswick, and Sophia, grand-daughter to James I. ascended the throne. His mature age, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general peace of Europe, all contributed to his support, and promised a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid. He was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. They were known, to a proverb, for leaving their friends in distress. George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, used to say, "My maxim is never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world; and to fear no man."

To

To these qualifications he joined great application to business: but generally studied more the interests of those subjects he had left behind, than of these he came to govern.

George I. came over to Great Britain with strong prepossessions against the tory ministry, most of whom he displaced; but this did not make any great alteration to his prejudice in England. In Scotland, however, the discontent broke forth into the flames of rebellion. The earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his own vassals, in the Highlands of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar, on the sixth day of September 1715; then assuming the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, he exhorted the people to take arms in defence of their lawful sovereign. But these preparations were weak, and ill conducted. All the designs of the rebels were betrayed to the government, the beginning of every revolt repressed, the western countries prevented from rising, and the most prudent precautions taken, to keep all suspected persons in custody, or in awe.

The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field near the borders of Scotland; and, being joined by some gentlemen, proclaimed the pretender. The first attempt was to seize upon
Newcastle,

Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham, while general Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to attack them, before their numbers were increased. The rebels had two methods of acting with success; either marching immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and there joining general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders; or of crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed nine hundred men. From their usual infatuation neither of these schemes were put into execution; for, taking the rout another way, they left general Carpenter on one side, and resolved to penetrate into England by the western border. They accordingly advanced, without either foresight or design, as far as Preston, where they first heard the news that general Wills was marching at the head of six regiments of horse, and a battalion of foot, to attack them. They now therefore began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing at first the attack of the king's army with some success. Next day, however, general Wills was reinforced by the troops under Carpenter, and the rebels were invested on all sides. Foster, their general, sent

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colonel

colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to the English commander, to propose a capitulation. This, however, general Wills refused, alledging, that he would not treat with rebels; and that all they could expect was, to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms; but they were obliged to submit. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. Their leaders were secured, and led through London pinioned, and bound together, while the common men were confined at Chester and Liverpool.

While these unhappy circumstances attended the rebels in England, the earl of Mar's forces, in the mean time, increased to the number of ten thousand men, and he had made himself master of the whole county of Fife. Against him the duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain; and, assembling some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with all possible expedition. The earl of Mar, being informed of this, at first retreated, but being joined soon after by some clans, under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to march forward towards England. The duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from
Ireland,

Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, though his forces were by no means so numerous as those of the rebel army. In the morning therefore of the same day, on which the Preston rebels had surrendered, he drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, but found himself greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke, therefore, perceiving the enemy making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition; which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously, as to be all formed before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army fell in with the center of the enemy's, and supported the first charge without shrinking. This wing seemed, for a short time, victorious, as they killed the chief leader of part of the rebel army. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, Revenge! This animated his men to such a degree, that they followed him close to the muzzles of the muskets, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad swords did great execution. A total rout of that wing of the royal army ensued, and general Witham, their com-

mander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost.

In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him for two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. The duke, having thus entirely broke the left, and pushed them over the river Allen, returned to the field, where he found that part of the rebel army which had been victorious. But, instead of renewing the engagements, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to attack; till towards evening both sides drew off, each boasting of victory. Whichever might claim the triumph, it must be owned, that all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged only to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the enemy's progress; and delay was to them a defeat. The earl of Mar, therefore, soon found his disappointments and losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto appeared in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine left the earl to defend his own country, and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned home; for an
irregular

irregular army is much easier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

The pretender might now be convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in imagining that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet with the usual infatuation of the family, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time, when such a measure was totally useless. Passing therefore through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, on the twenty-second day of December, on the coasts of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his retinue.

Upon his arrival in Aberdeen, he was solemnly proclaimed, and soon after made his public entry into Dundee. In two days more, he came to Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings for his safe arrival; enjoined the ministers to pray for him in the churches; and without the smallest share of power, went through all the ceremonies of royalty, which were, at such a juncture, perfectly ridiculous.

After this unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprize with the same levity with which it had been undertaken, and embarked again for France, together with the earl of Mar, and

some others in a small ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose; and in five days, arrived at Gravelin. General Gordon who was left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the earl-marshal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took on board the persons, who intended to make their escape to the Continent. In this manner the rebellion was suppressed; but the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success.

The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry shewed no disposition to spare. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute, in the most vigorous manner, the authors of the rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy, as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintown; the Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, were impeached. The HABEAS CORPUS act was suspended; and the rebel lords, upon pleading guilty, received sentence of death. Nothing could soften the privy council. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect. Orders were dispatched for
executing

executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and the viscount Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited for three weeks longer. Nithisdale, however, escaped in woman's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother, the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the Scaffold on Tower Hill, at the hour appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calmness and intrepidity, pitied by all, seemingly less moved themselves than the spectators.

An act of parliament was also made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms; which proceeding was, in some measure, an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom; when Foster, Mackintosh, and several others, were found guilty. Foster, however, escaped from Newgate, and reached the Continent in safety; and some time after also, Mackintosh, with some others, forced their way, having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. Four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered; among whom was William Paul, a clergyman, who professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king.

Such was the end of a rebellion, probably first inspired by the rigour of the new whig ministry and parliament. In running through the vicissitudes of human transactions, we too often find both sides culpable; and so it was in this case. The royal party acted under the influence of partiality, rigour, and prejudice; gratified private animosity under the mask of public justice; and, in their pretended love of freedom, forgot humanity. On the other hand, the Pretender's party, aimed, not only at subverting the government, but the religion of the kingdom. Bred a Papist himself, he confided only in counsellors of his own persuasion; and most of those who adhered to his cause, were men of indifferent morals, or bigoted principles. Clemency, however, in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all the factious spirit, which has hitherto disturbed the peace of this country; for it has ever been the character of the English, that they are more easily led than driven into loyalty.

C H A P. LXXIX.

OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME IN FRANCE.

A. D. 1720

A GREAT and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. This man; professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, had been obliged to abandon his own country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the Continent; and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy this evil, appeared a task worthy of his daring genius; and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper inclined him to adopt the wildest expedients. Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this amazing revolution,

and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was soon declared royal, and united with the Mississippi or West-India Company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also acquired the privileges of the old East-India Company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the Merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary power deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but fabulous mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that

that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company. The Mississippi scheme became the grand object, and the ultimate end of all pursuits. Even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the Royal Bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into cash; but the disproportion

tion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated, and obliged to flee from a country he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Upwards of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions, to be paid in specie.

Thus ended in France the famous Mississippi scheme; so ruinous to the fortunes of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined

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to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its virulence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury.

C H A P. LXXX.

OF THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME.

THE South-Sea Scheme, evidently borrowed from that of Law, excited the avidity of the English nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the Stocks, and the rise of the South-Sea Company.

Nothing is so much talked of in London, or so little understood, as the National Debt, the Public Funds, and the Stocks. I shall, therefore, endeavour to give a general idea of them. The National Debt is the residue of those immense sums, which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual

nual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not found it hitherto convenient to pay off.

The public Funds consist of certain ideal aggregation, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which has always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the Sinking Fund, as it was originally intended to be applied towards the reduction, or sinking of the national debt.

The Stocks are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which rise or fall in value, according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the Stocks, which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity; for as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of
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ever receiving their capital from government, they are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid without any farther reduction, must raise the stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity.

Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, besides the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlement on the South Sea; an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the prodigious successes of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the Asiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V. as well as the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto-Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities,

commodities, was vested exclusively in the South-Sea Company. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagená, Panamá, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements; and the company was farther permitted to freight in the ports of the South-Sea vessels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export.

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South-Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorized to make by the ship sent annually to Porto-Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of a vessel of five hundred tons burden, as stipulated by the treaty, they usually employed one of a thousand tons, exclusive of water and provisions. She was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants, and mooring in some neighbouring creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been previously sold.

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By these various advantages, the profits of the South-Sea Company became excessively great, and the public supposed them yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, Sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous South Sea scheme. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South-Sea Company should become the sole public creditor. A scheme so plausible, and so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of an act of parliament. The purport of this act was, "That the South-Sea Company should be authorised to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five per cent., and that after the expiration of six year, the interest should be reduced to four per cent., and the capital be redeemable by parliament." But as the directors could not be supposed possessed of money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening a subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors

creditors as should think proper to exchange the security of the crown, for that of the South-Sea Company, with the emoluments which might result from their commerce.

While this affair was in agitation, the stock of the South-Sea Company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred pounds; and, in order to raise it still higher, Blount, the projector of the scheme, circulated a report, on the passing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged, as it is to be wished they had, for some places in Peru, by the cession of which, the British trade to the South Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription-books were no sooner opened, than persons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and sexes, crowded to the South-Sea House, eager to become proprietors of stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that stock sold, at last, for ten times its original value. New projectors started up every day, to avail themselves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch Copper-
Company,

Company, the York-building Company, and many others were formed.

No interested project was so absurd as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South-Sea Scheme continued to be the object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the bubble began to burst. It was discovered, that those who were thought to be in the secret, had disposed of all their stock while the tide was at its heighth. A general alarm was spread. Every one wanted to sell, and nobody to buy, except at a very reduced price. The stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen but the direful effects of its violence,—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, of grief, and unexpected poverty, of the frantic howlings of despair! The timely interposition, and steady wisdom of parliament only could have prevented a national bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the
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South-Sea act; and this committee discovered, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislabbie, chancellor of the Exchequer, who had shared largely in that stock, was expelled the house of commons, and committed to the tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of "the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and having combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit." Mr. secretary Craggs and his father, also great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved, nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, was "a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, treasurer to the South-Sea Company, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and, therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, at the time of his death, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers by the South-Sea scheme." The estates of the directors were also confiscated by act of parliament, and directed to be applied to the same purpose, after a certain allowance was deducted for each

each director, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons, having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-got wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischiefs it had occasioned. They accordingly prepared a bill for that purpose. On the inquiries relative to the framing of this bill it appeared, "That the whole capital stock of the South-Sea Company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; that the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity, being the profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-jobbing scheme. Out of this, it was enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was likewise enacted, that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors." By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

CHAP

C H A P. LXXXI.

OF GEORGE THE SECOND, AND HIS MINISTER, SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. A. D. 1727.

UPON the death of George I., his son, George II., ascended the throne; of inferior abilities to the late king, and consequently still more strongly attached to his dominions on the Continent.

Sir Robert Walpole was considered as first minister of England when George I. died; and some differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the accession of the latter to the crown, that Sir Robert would be displaced. That might have been the case could another person have been found equally capable, as he was, to manage the house of commons, and to gratify that predilection for Hanover, which George II. inherited from his father. No minister ever understood better the temper of the people of England, and none perhaps ever tried it more. He filled all places of power, trust, and profit, and almost the house of commons itself, with his own creatures; but peace was his darling object, because he thought that
war,

war must be fatal to his power. During his long administration, he never lost a question that he was in earnest to carry. The excise scheme was the first measure that gave a shock to his power; and even that he could have carried had he not been afraid of the spirit of the people without doors, which might have either produced an insurrection, or endangered his interest in the next general election.

Walpole, however, was never known to attempt any perversion of the known laws of the kingdom. He was so far from checking the freedom of debate in parliament, that he bore with equanimity the most scurrilous abuse that was thrown out to his face. He concluded a masterly speech in the house of commons, concerning patriotism, with the following expressions. "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable virtue, when duly practised; but I am sorry to observe, that of late it has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot! why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing

fusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot."

With regard to the king's own personal concern in public matters, Walpole was rather his minister than his favourite; and his majesty often hinted to him, as Walpole himself has been heard to acknowledge, that he was responsible for all the measures of government.

C H A P. LXXXII.

CHARACTER OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, BY
LORD CHESTERFIELD.

I MUCH question whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity; for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with every thing that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered nor more abused; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him, both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character; and therefore my
picture

picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, chearful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse, strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind, necessary for great good or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

He was both the best parliament man, and the ablest manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful, rather than an eloquent speaker, he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the house, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the in-

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ventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II. but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion, he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art; for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them "Flights of classical learning;" declaring himself at the same time, "No faint, no Spartan, no reformer."

He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, "Well, are you to be an old Roman; a patriot? You will soon come off of that, and grow wiser." And thus he was more dangerous to the morals than to the liberties
of

of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people, whose blasted characters reflected upon his own. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary, very placable to those who had injured him the most. His good humour, good nature, and beneficence, in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history among the "best men," or the "best ministers;" but much less ought it to be ranked among the worst.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

OF THE REBELLION WHICH BROKE OUT IN
SCOTLAND, IN THE YEAR 1745.

ON the fourteenth of July, 1745, the Pretender's eldest son sailed for Scotland in a small frigate, and landed there on the twenty-seventh of July. He soon obtained a considerable force, and proceeding through several parts of Scotland, had his father proclaimed king, while he himself assumed the title of prince-regent. He took several places, and gained some advantages over the king's forces sent against him; but at length the duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. He resolved, therefore, to come to a battle as soon as possible; and marched forward, while the young adventurer retired at his approach. The duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, and some other lords attached to his family and cause. After having refreshed his troops there for some time, he renewed his march; and in twelve days came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey.

This was a place, where the rebels might have disputed his passage; but they seemed now totally void of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without expectation. The duke still proceeded in his pursuit; and, at length, had advice that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to the plain of Culloden, which was about nine miles distant, and there intended to give him battle.

On this plain the Highlanders were drawn up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon. The cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the enemy, while theirs, being but ill served, was ineffectual. One of the great errors in all the Pretender's warlike measures, was his subjecting undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ferocity, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had stood the English fire for some time, they, at length, became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them attacked the English left wing, with their accustomed fierceness. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy by a terrible

and close discharge. At the same time the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the enemy's flank, and which the rebels had left but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men.

Civil war is in itself terrible, but still more so when heightened by cruelty. How guilty soever men may be, it is ever the business of a soldier to remember, that he is only to fight an enemy that opposes him, and to spare the suppliant. This victory was in every respect complete; and humanity to the conquered would even have made it glorious. The conquerors often refused mercy to wretches, who were defenceless or wounded; and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner.

Thus sunk all the hopes and ambition of the young adventurer. One short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as fought to take his life. To the good-natured, subsequent distress often atones for former guilt; and
while

while reason would repress humanity, yet our hearts plead in favour of the wretched. The duke, immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed. The conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short time, the whole country round was one scene of slaughter, desolation, and plunder. Justice seemed forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

In the mean time, the unhappy fugitive adventurer wandered from mountain to mountain, a wretched spectator of all these horrors, the result of his ill-guided ambition. He now underwent a similarity of adventures with Charles II., after the defeat at Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages without attendants, and exposed to the mercy of peasants, who could pity but not support him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, thirty thousand pounds being offered for his head. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals. One day, having walked from morning till night, pressed by hunger, and worn

out with fatigue, he ventured to enter an house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. "The son of your king," said he, entering, "comes to beg a bit of bread, and clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take the advantage of my misfortunes. Take these rags, which have for some time been my only covering, and keep them. You may, probably, restore them to me, one day, when seated on the throne of the kings of Great Britain." His host was touched with his distress, assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged his secret.

In this manner he wandered among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still finding some expedient to save him from captivity and death. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach, in which he embarked for France, and safely landed on the coast of Brittany.

While the prince thus led a wandering and solitary life, the scaffolds and the gibbets were bathed with the blood of his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed on Kennington Common, in the neighbourhood of London,

don, whose constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than perhaps their victories could have done. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton; seven at Penrith; and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons; and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with the Lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned. The other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill. Kilmarnock, either from conviction, or from the hope of a pardon, owned his crime, and declared his repentance of it. On the other hand, Balmerino, who had from his youth been bred to arms, died in a more daring manner. When his fellow sufferer, as commanded, bid God bless king George, Balmerino still held fast to his principles, and cried out, God bless king James, and suffered with the utmost intrepidity. Lord Lovat, and Mr. Radcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, suffered the same fate with equal resolution.

Thus ended a rebellion, dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution. The family of Stuart found fortune become more adverse, at every new solicitation of her favours. Let private men, who complain of

the miseries of this life, only turn to the vicissitudes in that family, and learn to bless God, and be happy.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

OF THE PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON DAMIEN
FOR ATTEMPTING TO ASSASSINATE THE
FRENCH KING.

WHILE the English ministry, in compliance with the voice of the people, were bringing to punishment admiral Byng, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest misfortunes, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire, the French were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king, by stabbing him with a penknife between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach. On this fanatical wretch, named Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliament relative to religion, was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty
that

that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt upon the life of his sovereign. He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most exquisite torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the heart of savages with horror. He was conducted to the Grève, the common place of execution, amidst a vast concourse of the populace; stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red-hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and, to complete the awful catastrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses.

C H A P. LXXXV.

OF THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND

ON the twenty-fifth day of October, 1760, George II. without any previous disorder, was found by his domestic servants expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that, as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after this, being left alone, he was heard to fall upon the floor. The noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room. who lifted him into bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before her arrival he expired, in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign, in the midst of victory; and at that very period, when the universal enthusiasm of conquest began to subside into more sober reflections. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode and time of his death, it was he. The factions, which had been nursing in his reign, had not yet come to maturity; and all their virulence threatened to fall upon his successors.

The memory of George II. is reprehensible on no head, but his predilection for his electoral dominions.

minions. He never could separate an idea that there was any difference between them and his regal dominions; and he was sometimes ill enough advised to declare so much in his speeches to parliament. We are, however, to remember, that his people gratified him in this partiality, and that he never acted by power or prerogative. He was just rather than generous; and in matters of œconomy, either in his state, or his household, he was willing to connive at abuses, if they had the sanction of law and custom. By this means, those mismanagements about his court were multiplied to an enormous degree, and even under clerks in offices amassed fortunes ten times greater than their legal salaries or perquisites could raise. He was not very accessible to conversation, and therefore it was no wonder that, having left Germany after he had attained to man's estate, he still retained foreign notions both of men and things. In government he had no favourite; for he parted with Sir Robert Walpole's administration with great indifference, and shewed very little concern at the subsequent revolutions among his servants. This quality may be deemed a virtue, as it contributed greatly to the internal quiet of his reign, and prevented the people from loading the king with the faults of his ministers.

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In his personal disposition he was passionate, but placable, fearless of danger, fond of military parade, and enjoyed the memory of campaigns in which he served when young. His affections, either public or private, were never known to interfere with the ordinary course of justice; and though his reign was distracted by party, the courts of justice were never better filled than under him. This was a point in which all factions were agreed.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

OF GEORGE THE THIRD, AND THE RESIGNATION OF MR. PITT.

GEORGE III., the eldest son of Frederick, prince of Wales, was born on the 4th of June 1738, and proclaimed king of Great Britain on the 26th of October 1760. He ascended the throne with great advantages. His being a native of England prejudiced the people in his favour. He was in the bloom of youth, in his person tall and comely, and at the time of his accession, Great Britain

Britain was in the highest degree of reputation and prosperity. The first acts of his reign seemed also calculated to convince the public, that the death of his predecessor should not relax the operations of the war. Accordingly, in 1761, the island of Belleisle, on the coast of France, surrendered to his majesty's ships and forces under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson; as did the important fortress of Pondicherry, in the East Indies, to colonel Coote and admiral Stevens. The operations against the French West Indies still continued under general Monckton, lord Rollo, and Sir James Douglas; and in 1762, the island of Martinico, hitherto deemed impregnable, with the islands of Grenada, Grenadillas, St. Vincent, and others of less note, were subdued by the British arms with inconceivable rapidity.

In the mean time, Mr. Pitt, who had conducted the war against France with such eminent ability, and who had received the best information of the hostile intentions, and private intrigues of the court of Spain, proposed in council an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom. Giving full scope to his patriotism, he warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon! and if the glorious opportunity is let slip, we shall in vain look for another. Their united

united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us into the gulph of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breathe. Self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves." This popular minister, however, was overruled in the council, all the members of which declared themselves of a contrary opinion, excepting his brother-in law, earl Temple.

Mr. Pitt now found the decline of his influence; and it was supposed that the earl of Bute, who had a considerable share in directing the education of the king, had acquired an ascendancy in the royal favour. He, therefore, haughtily said, "That as he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, he would no longer remain in a situation, which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide."

Mr. Pitt, conformable to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king; not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them. But his majesty received the seals from his minister with ease and dignity, with a magnanimity equal to his own. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant,

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at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears. This was the time for conciliation between the youthful sovereign and his greatest subject, if the highest ability to serve the state can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king chose, and perhaps wisely, to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation, settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a-year for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady, he himself declining the honour of nobility, but willing that it should descend to his offspring.

These advantages and honours had unquestionably been well deserved by his public services; but his acceptance of them greatly lessened his popularity, and many arts were employed to produce this effect. A very considerable degree of discontent, notwithstanding, prevailed in the nation, on account of his removal from power; and it was certainly extremely natural, that the people should behold, with the utmost regret, the removal of a minister from the direction of public affairs,

affairs, of whose abilities and integrity they had the highest opinion, and in the midst of a war, which he had conducted with so much honour to himself and to his country, and in a manner that had excited the astonishment of Europe.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

THE secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind over-awed majesty itself. No state chicanery, no narrow system of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but over-bearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the house of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The sight of his mind was infinite; and his schemes were

were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent were unknown to him. No domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unfulfilled by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system, to counsel and to decide.

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the treasury trembled at the name of Pitt through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the senate, peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom; not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully; it resembled sometimes the thunder,
and

and sometimes the music of the spheres. He did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argumentation; nor was he for ever on the rack of exertion; but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flashings of the mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.

CH A P. LXXXVIII.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

MR. PITT owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom, singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the
want

want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his **original** destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it.

Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts; but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbade him the idle dissipations of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen, he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus, by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of its splendor.

His private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great
abili-

abilities, and crowned by great success, make what the world calls "a great man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing; qualities which too often accompany, but always clog great ones.

He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life; and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry, but he seldom indulged, and seldom avowed it.

He came young into parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him.* Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

In that assembly, where the public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued,

* Hume Campbell, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield.

he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so nobly, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather only unsuspected, champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally-acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon King George II. to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state. In this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot or the minister to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the king more effectually, in his most unwarrantable electoral views, than any former minister, however unwilling, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public; whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover, with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities

abilities to make the proper use of them; but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country, notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives on his voluntary resignation of the seals in the first year of the present king, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it. However, it must be acknowledged that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

CH A P. LXXXIX.

MR. BURKE'S CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

LORD CHATHAM is a great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe,

“ Clarum et venerabile nomen
 “ Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.”

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The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament.

For a wise man, he seemed to me to be governed too much by general maxims. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which I am afraid are for ever incurable. He made an administration so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's

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friends

friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name, &c." It so happened, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle bed.

In consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, in various departments of ministry, with a confidence

dence in him which was justified, even in its extravagance, by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed on any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port. And as those who joined with them, in manning the vessel, were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the most vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends, and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, even before the splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, (Charles Townshend) and for his hour became lord of the ascendant, who was officially the re-producer of the fatal scheme, the unfortunate act to tax America for a revenue.

C H A P. XC.

PETER THE THIRD, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,
IS DEPOSED, IMPRISONED, AND MURDERED,
A. D. 1762.

PETER III., grand prince of Russia, and duke of Holstein, mounted the throne, possessed of an enthusiastic admiration of his Prussian majesty's virtues, to whom he gave peace, and whose principles and practices he seems to have adopted, as the directories of his future reign. He might have surmounted the effects even of those peculiarities, unpopular as they then were in Russia; but in his rage for innovation, he made more regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. Being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked the prejudices of his people, even while he consulted their interests.

He disgusted both the soldiery and clergy, the two chief supports of absolute sway; the former, by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek church, and certain innovations in regard to ima-

ges, which made them apprehend the introduction of Lutheranism, in which he had been bred; but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of ecclesiastics, and his order that they should no longer be "distinguished by beards."

These were great causes of discontent. But Peter's most dangerous misfortune arose from a domestic feud, from the bosom of his own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, a woman of a masculine disposition and strong understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited, and now openly lived with the countess of Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed to be devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of throwing the empress into a convent, and raising the countess to the partnership of his throne.

The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of this domestic dissention, assembled and formally deposed the czar in his absence, and invested Catharine with the imperial ensigns. She marched at their head in quest of her husband, who was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprize at being told the sceptre was departed from him.

When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, where he expired in a few days, of what is called an hæmorrhoidal cholic, to which he was said to have been subject. After what had passed, his death occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly cut short their moments of trouble.

Catharine II., since so much celebrated for her liberal policy, began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead. She revived their ancient uniform, which had been abolished by Peter III., and frequently condescended to appear in it. She restored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards! She conferred all the great offices of state on native Russians, and threw herself entirely on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

C H A P. XCI.

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE UNFORTUNATE
MATILDA, QUEEN OF DENMARK.

CHRISTIAN VII., the present king of Denmark, married his Britannic majesty's youngest sister, the princess Carolina-Matilda. But this alliance, though it wore at first a very promising appearance, yet had in the event a very unfortunate termination. This is partly attributed to the intrigues of the queen-dowager, mother-in-law to the present king, who has a son named Frederic, and whom she is represented as desirous of raising to the throne. She possesses a great degree of dissimulation and low cunning; and when the princess Carolina-Matilda came to Copenhagen, she received her with all the appearance of friendship and affection, acquainting her with all the king's faults, and at the same time telling her, that she would take every opportunity, as a mother, to assist her in reclaiming him. By this conduct she became the depositary of all the young queen's secrets, whilst at the same time she placed people about the king, to keep him constantly engaged in all kinds of riot and dissipation, to which she knew

he was naturally too much inclined; and at length it was so ordered, that a mistress was thrown in the king's way, whom he was persuaded to keep in his palace.

When the king was upon his travels, the queen-dowager used frequently to visit the young queen Matilda; and, under, the mask of friendship and affection, told her often of the irregularities and excesses, which the king had fallen into, in Holland, England, and France, and often persuaded her not to live with him. But as soon as the king returned, the queen reproaching him with his conduct, though in a gentle manner, his mother-in-law immediately took his part, and endeavoured to persuade the king to give no ear to her councils, as it was presuming in a queen of Denmark to direct the king.

Queen Matilda now began to discover the designs of the queen-dowager, and afterwards lived upon very good terms with the king, who for a time was much reclaimed. The young queen, also, now assumed to herself the part which the queen-dowager had been complimented with, in the management of public affairs. This stung the old queen to the quick; and her thoughts were now entirely occupied with schemes of revenge. But her views of this kind at first appeared the
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more difficult to carry into execution, because the king had displaced several of her friends who were about the court, who had been increasing the national debt, in the time of the most profound peace, and who were rioting in the spoils of the public. However she at length found means to gratify her revenge in a very ample manner.

About the end of the year 1770, it was observed that Brandt and Struensee were particularly regarded by the king; the former as a favourite, and the latter as a minister, and that they paid great court to queen Matilda, and were supported by her. This opened a new scene of intrigue at Copenhagen. All the discarded placemen paid their court to the queen-dowager, and she became the head and patroness of the party. Old count Moltke, an artful, displaced statesman, and others, who were well versed in intrigues of this nature, perceiving that they had unexperienced young persons to contend with, who, though they might mean well, had not sufficient knowledge and capacity to conduct the public affairs, very soon predicted their ruin.

Struensee and Brandt wanted to make a reform in the administration of public affairs at once, which should have been the work of time; and thereby made a great number of enemies, among

those whose interest it was, that things should continue upon the same footing that they had been for some time before.

After this, queen Matilda was delivered of a daughter, and as soon as the queen-dowager saw her, she immediately turned her back, and, with a malicious smile, declared that the child had all the features of Struensee; which was corroborated by the queen's having been often seen to speak with this minister in public.

A great variety of false reports were now propagated by the queen-dowager and her friends against the reigning queen; and another report was also industriously spread, that the governing party had formed a design to supersede the king, as being incapable of governing; that the queen was to be declared regent during the minority of her son; and that Struensee was to be her prime minister. Whatever Struensee did to reform the abuses of the late ministry, was represented to the people as so many attacks upon, and attempts to destroy the government of the kingdom. By such means the people began to be greatly incensed against this minister; and as he also wanted to make a reform in the military, he gave great offence to the troops, at the head of which were some of the creatures of the queen-dowager, who
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took every opportunity to make their inferior officers believe, that it was the design of Struensee to change the whole system of government. It must, indeed, be admitted, that this minister seems, in many respects, to have acted very unprecedentedly, and to have been too much under the guidance of his passions. His principles also appear to have been of the libertine kind.

Many councils were held between the queen-dowager and her friends, upon the proper measures to be adopted for effectuating their designs; and it was at length resolved to surprize the king in the middle of the night, and force him immediately to sign an order, which was to be prepared in readiness, for committing the persons before mentioned to separate prisons; to accuse them of high treason in general, and in particular of a design to poison, or dethrone the king; and if that could not be properly supported by torture or otherwise, to procure witnesses to confirm the report of a criminal commerce between the queen and Struensee.

This was an undertaking of so hazardous a nature, that the wary count Moltke and most of the queen-dowager's friends, who had any thing to lose, drew back, endeavouring to animate others, but excusing themselves from taking any

open and active part in this affair. However, the queen-dowager, at last procured a sufficient number of active instruments, for the execution of her designs.

On the sixteenth of January, 1772, a masked ball was given at the court of Denmark. The king had danced at this ball, and afterwards played at quadrille with general Gahler, his lady, and counsellor Struensee, brother to the count. The queen, after dancing, as usual, one country dance with the king, gave her hand to count Struensee during the remainder of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and count Brandt. About four the same morning, prince Frederic, who had also been at the ball, got up and dressed himself, and went with the queen-dowager to the king's bed-chamber, accompanied by general Eichstedt, and count Rantzau. They ordered his majesty's valet-de-chambre to awake him, and in the midst of the surprize and alarm that this unexpected intrusion excited, they informed him, that queen Matilda and the two Struensees were, at that instant, busy in drawing up an act of renunciation of the crown, which they would immediately after compel him to sign; and that the only means he could use to prevent so imminent a danger, was to sign those orders

orders without loss of time, which they had bought with them, for arresting the queen and her accomplices. It is said, that the king was not easily prevailed upon to sign these orders; but he at length complied, though with reluctance and hesitation.

Count Rantzau, and three officers, were dispatched at that untimely hour to the queen's apartments, and immediately arrested her. She was put into one of the king's coaches, in which she was conveyed to the castle of Cronenburg, together with the infant princess, attended by lady Mostyn, and escorted by a party of dragoons. In the mean time, Struenfee and Brandt were also seized in their beds, and imprisoned in the citadel. Struenfee's brother, some of his adherents, and most of the members of the late administration, were seized the same night, to the number of about eighteen, and thrown into confinement.

The government, after this, seemed to be lodged in the queen-dowager and her son, supported and assisted by those who had the principal share in the revolution; while the king appeared to be little more than a pageant, whose person and name it was necessary occasionally to make use of.

All the officers, who had a hand in the revolution, were immediately promoted, and an almost
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total change took place, in all the departments of administration. A new council was appointed, in which prince Frederic presided, and a commission of eight members, to examine the papers of the prisoners, and to commence a process against them.

The son of queen Matilda, the prince Royal, who was entered into the fifth year of his age, was put under the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed governess, under the superintendency of the queen-dowager.

Struensee and Brandt were put in irons, and very rigorously treated in prison. They both underwent long and frequent examinations, and at length received sentence of death. They were beheaded on the twenty-eighth of April, 1772, having their right hand previously cut off; but many of their friends and adherents were afterwards set at liberty.

Struensee, at first, had absolutely denied having any criminal intercourse with the queen. This, however, he afterwards confessed; though he is said to have been induced to do it, only by the fear of torture. No measures were adopted by the court of Great Britain to clear up the queen's character in this respect. But in May, his Britannic majesty sent a small squadron of ships to convoy that princess to Germany, and appointed the city of Zell, in his electoral dominions, for the place of her
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future residence. She died there, of a malignant fever, on the tenth of May, 1775, aged 23 years and 10 months.

C H A P. XCII.

OF THE CAUSE AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

DURING the administration of Mr. Grenville, in 1765, bills passed for laying a stamp duty on the British colonies in America, which first laid the foundation of those quarrels between the colonies and the mother country, which ended in a total separation. This measure was no sooner known in America, than insurrections commenced there, and great murmurings at home. In consequence of which the ministry retired, and the act was repealed.

After the repeal of the stamp act, which was received with great joy in America, all things became quiet there. New duties, however, were soon after laid on paper, glass, tea, and other articles. But as a general combination seemed to be

be forming among the Americans, not to take any of those commodities from the mother country, all these acts were also repealed, except the duties on tea.

In order to induce the East-India company to become instrumental in enforcing the tea-duty in America, an act was passed, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty free, to all places whatsoever. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the company, which also appointed agents there, for the disposal of that commodity. This was considered by the Americans as a scheme calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby pave the way to an unlimited taxation. For it was easily comprehended, that if the tea was once landed, and in the custody of the consignees, no associations, nor other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption. And, it was not to be supposed, they said, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would restrain itself in others.

These ideas being generally prevalent in America, it was resolved by the colonists to prevent the landing of the tea-cargoes amongst them, at whatever hazard. Accordingly, three ships laden with
tea

tea having arrived in the port of Boston, in December, 1773, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded these ships, and in a few hours discharged their whole cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. Some smaller quantities of tea met, afterwards, with a similar fate at Boston, and a few other places; but in general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity were obliged to relinquish their employments, and the masters of the tea-vessels, from an apprehension of danger, returned again to England with their cargoes. At New York, indeed, the tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war. But the persons in the service of government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from use.

These proceedings in America excited so much indignation in the government of England, that on the thirty-first of March, 1774, an act was passed for removing the custom-house officers from the town of Boston, and shutting up the port. Another act was soon after passed, for altering the constitution of Massachusetts's Bay and Quebec, so that the magistrates might be appointed by the king of England.

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In this situation of affairs, the Americans entered into agreement, not to trade with Great Britain, till these acts were repealed. At the same time, the delegates appointed from the English colonies, avowed their loyalty to his majesty, but supplicated him to order a change of measures. This petition of the congress was rejected, as well as an application of their agents to be heard at the bar of the house of commons.

The earl of Chatham, who had been long in an infirm state of health, appeared in the house of lords, and expressed, in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the whole system of American measures. He also made a motion for immediately recalling the troops from Boston. He represented this as a measure which should be immediately adopted; urging, that an hour then lost, in allaying the ferment in America, might produce years of calamity. He alledged, that the present situation of the troops rendered them and the Americans continually liable to events, which would cut off the possibility of a reconciliation; but that this conciliatory measure would be well timed; and, as a mark of affection and good-will on our side, would remove all jealousy and apprehension on the other, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both. His lordship's
motion

motion was rejected by a large majority, as was also a bill which he brought in soon after for settling the American troubles.

The Americans, finding themselves thus treated, began to train their militia with great industry. They erected powder-mills in Philadelphia and Virginia, and began to prepare arms in all the provinces; nor were these preparations fruitless, as will evidently appear from what followed.

On the nineteenth of April, 1775, general Gage detached a party, to seize some military stores at Concord, in New England. Several skirmishes ensued, many were killed on both sides, and the troops would probably have been all cut off, if a fresh body had not arrived to their relief. Arms were now taken up in every quarter, and they assumed the title of the *United Colonies of America*. Their first resolutions were for raising an army, for establishing an extensive paper currency, and for stopping all exportations to those places which still retained their obedience. About 240 provincials next took the garrison of Ticonderago and Crown point, without any loss of men; and here they found plenty of military stores. Great Britain increased her army, and sent over the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton.

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These inimical proceedings did not terrify the congress, who encouraged the people of Massachusetts's bay to resume their chartered rights, ordered the blockade of Boston to be continued, and, that they might secure Charles-town, in one night they raised very considerable works on Bunker's-hill. As soon as they were discovered in the morning, a heavy fire ensued from the ships, from the floating batteries, and from Cope's-hill in Boston. The Americans bore this severe fire with great firmness, and appeared to go on with their business, as if no enemy had been near, nor any danger in the service. About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked, under the command of Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the provincials from their works. This detachment, together with a reinforcement which it afterwards received, amounted in the whole to more than two thousand men. The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to put the Americans into confusion. The latter, however, threw some men into the houses of Charles-town, which covered their right flank;
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by which means general Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the king's troops, was at once engaged with the lines, and with those in the houses. He attacked the Americans with great ardour, who, on their part, sustained a severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with remarkable firmness and resolution. They did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which great numbers of the British troops fell, and many of their officers. They were thereupon thrown into disorder; but being rallied, and again brought to the charge, they attacked the works of the Americans with fixed bayonets, and irresistible fury, and forced them in every quarter. Many of the provincials were destitute of bayonets, and their ammunition is said to have been expended; however, a number of them fought desperately within the works, from which they were not driven without great difficulty; and they at length retreated slowly over Charles-town neck. Charles-town itself, during the action, was set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. This was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston; that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former.

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Charles-town was a large, handsome, and well-built town, both in respect to its public and private edifices. It contained about 400 houses, and had a great trade. The loss of the king's troops, in the action at Bunker's-hill, amounted to 226 killed, and more than 800 wounded, including many officers.

C H A P. XCIII.

OF THE RIOTS IN LONDON. A. D. 1780.

THE middle of this year was distinguished by one of the most disgraceful exhibitions of religious bigotry that had ever appeared in this country; especially if it be considered, as happening in an age, in which the principles of toleration were well understood, and very prevalent. An act of parliament had been lately passed "for relieving his majesty's subjects, professing the Romish religion, from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed upon them in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of king William III." This act was generally approved by men of sense, and of liberal sentiments,

sentiments, by whom the laws against Papists were justly deemed too severe. The act at first seemed to give little offence to persons of any class in England; but in Scotland it excited much indignation, though it did not extend to that kingdom. Resolutions were formed to oppose any law for granting indulgencies to Papists in Scotland; and a Romish chapel was burnt, and the houses of several people demolished, in the city of Edinburgh.

The contagion of bigotry at length reached England. A number of persons assembled themselves together, with a view of promoting a petition to parliament, for a repeal of the late act in favour of the Papists, and they assumed the title of the Protestant Association. They were chiefly Methodists, and bigoted Calvinists, in the lower ranks of life; many of them well-intentioned persons, and having a just dislike to Popery, but not sufficiently enlightened to consider, that a spirit of persecution was one of the worst characteristics of that system of superstition, and that this was, at least, as odious in Protestants as in Papists.

They continued to hold frequent meetings. Lord George Gordon became their president, and they increased in numbers. At a time when the nation was surrounded with real dangers, the heads
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of these weak men were filled with nothing but the fear of Popery; and they even seemed to fancy that they were contending for religious liberty, when they were labouring to excite the legislature to prevent some of their fellow-subjects from worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences.

The Protestant Association having at length agreed to a petition, which was said to have been subscribed by more than one hundred thousand persons, the utmost industry having been used to procure names to it; it was resolved, in order to give the more weight to their petition, that it should be attended by great numbers of the petitioners in person; and a public advertisement was issued for that purpose, signed by Lord George Gordon. Accordingly, at least fifty thousand persons are supposed to have assembled with this view, on Friday the second of June, in St. George's fields, from whence they proceeded, with blue cockades in their hats, with much order and regularity, to the House of Commons, where their petition was presented by their president. In the course of the day, several members of both houses of parliament were grossly insulted and ill-treated by the populace; and a mob assembled the same evening, by which the Sardinian chapel
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in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and another Romish chapel in Warwick-street, Golden-square, were entirely demolished. A party of the guards was then sent for, to put a stop to the farther progress of these violences, and thirteen of the rioters were taken, five of whom were afterwards committed to Newgate, escorted by the military. On the Sunday following, another mob assembled, and destroyed a Popish chapel in Ropemaker's-alley, Moorfields. On the Monday they demolished a school-house, and three dwelling-houses, in the same place, belonging to the Romish priests, with a valuable library of books. They also destroyed all the household furniture of Sir George Saville, one of the most respectable men in the kingdom, because he had brought in the bill in favour of the Papists.

On Tuesday great numbers again assembled about the parliament house, and behaved so tumultuously, that both houses thought proper to adjourn. In the evening, a most daring and violent attempt was made to force open the gates of Newgate, in order to release the rioters who were confined there; and the keeper having refused to deliver them, his house was set on fire, the prison was soon in flames, and great part of it consumed, though a new stone edifice of uncommon strength;

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and more than three hundred prisoners made their escape, many of whom joined the mob.

Before this, a committee of the Protestant Association had circulated hand-bills, requesting all true Protestants to show their attachment to their best interest, by a legal and peaceable deportment. But this produced little effect. Violence, tumult, and devastation still continued. The Protestant Association, as they thought proper to style themselves, had been chiefly actuated by ignorance and bigotry. But their new confederates were animated by the love of mischief, and the hope of plunder. Two other prisons, the houses of lord Mansfield and Sir John Fielding, and several other private houses, were destroyed the same evening. The following day, the King's-Bench prison, the New Bridewell in St. George's Fields, some Popish chapels, several private houses of Papists, and other buildings, were destroyed by the rioters. Some were pulled down, and others set on fire; and every part of the metropolis exhibited violence and disorder, tumults and conflagrations.

During these extraordinary scenes, there was a shameful inactivity in the lord-mayor of London, and in most of the other magistrates of the metropolis, and its neighbourhood; and even the ministry appeared to be panic-struck, and to be
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only attentive to the preservation of their own houses, and of the royal palace. Some of the common people engaged in these riots, with the more readiness, on account of the unpopularity of the ministry; nor could so much violence and disorder have happened under any administration, which had been generally respected. Even some persons in better circumstances, who totally disapproved of the bigotry of the Protestant Association, were yet induced at first to oppose the rioters with less vigour, from entertaining ideas, that these tumults might possibly inspire terror into the administration, and occasion a change of measures. The event, however, was directly the reverse. The fears of the ministry were only temporary; and the riots, and their consequences, greatly contributed, in fact, to strengthen the hands of government.

The magistrates, at the beginning of the riots, declined giving any order to the military to fire upon the insurgents; but at length, as all property began to be insecure, men of all classes began to see the necessity of a vigorous opposition to the rioters. Large bodies of troops were brought to the metropolis; and an order was issued, by the authority of the king in council, "for the military to act, without waiting for directions from

the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people.' The troops exerted themselves with diligence, in the suppression of these alarming tumults; great numbers of the rioters were killed; many were apprehended, who were afterwards tried and executed for felony; and the metropolis was at length restored to order and tranquillity.

It is pretended, that no member of the Protestant Association was executed, or tried, for any share in these riots. What truth there may be in that assertion, we cannot determine. The fact can only be ascertained, by comparing the names of the persons tried or convicted, with the numerous names on the petition, to which few persons have had access; and there can be no doubt, but that many who were engaged in the riots, were neither convicted nor tried.

At all events, it was manifestly the bigotry of the Protestant Association, to which these riots owed their origin. The manner in which these tumults were suppressed, by the operations of the military, without any authority from the civil magistrate, however necessary from the peculiar circumstances of the case, was thought to be a very dangerous precedent; and it was the opinion of many, that an act of indemnity ought to have been

been passed, not only with regard to inferior persons, who had acted in the suppression of these riots, but also with respect to the ministry themselves, for the part they had taken in this transaction, in order to prevent its being established as a precedent.

CHAP. CXIV.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA IS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, A. D. 1782.

AFTER the surrender of earl Cornwallis, our affairs in America seemed desperate, and every one seemed desirous of bringing the war to a conclusion, except those who were generally thought to be the cause of it. Sir James Lowther, now lord Lonsdale, therefore moved in the house of commons, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans by force, would be injurious to the true interest of Great Britain. After a long and vigorous debate, the motion was rejected. The mode of exchanging prisoners was next canvassed;

and Mr. Lawrens was ordered to be released from the Tower.

A motion was next made for addresssing his majesty to put a stop to the American war; and the motion was lost by one vote only. A second motion was then made, and agreed to. Addressees were presented to the king, a complete change in administration followed, the negociation for a general peace commenced, and the independency of America was allowed.

In 1783, the provisional articles between England and America were made public. By these it appeared, that his Britannic majesty acknowledged the independence of the United States of New-Hampshire, Massachusets-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New-Jersey, Pensylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. He also relinquished all claims to the government of them, and consented to treat with them as free and independent states. Their boundaries were also settled, and they were allowed the liberty of fishing, and drying fish, as usual. It was agreed, that the creditors, on both sides, should meet with no impediment in the prosecution of their claims. The restoration of confiscated property was also recommended, and all prisoners were to be set at liberty.

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The English troops were to be immediately withdrawn from America, and a firm and perpetual peace was concluded between the contracting parties. In these articles, no provision was made for the American loyalists. The line of boundary was blamed as inaccurate, and the liberty of fishing was condemned as an instance of extravagant liberality.

The definitive treaty was next signed. In our treaty with the French, after settling the fisheries, the islands of St. Pierre, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Goree, were surrendered to France, with the river Senegal, and its dependencies, and the forts of St. Louis and others. The islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, were left to the English; and the islands which the English had taken from the French in the East Indies were restored. The prisoners also, on both sides, were to be surrendered without ransom.

With the Dutch, our negotiations were not so easily settled. However, after much deliberation, and several memorials, it was stipulated by treaty, that the king of Great Britain should restore Trincomale, and all the possessions that had been taken during the war, to the Dutch; that the States-General should guarantee Negapatam, with

its dependencies, to his Britannic majesty; and that mutual conquests were to be given up without compensation.

Our treaty with the Spaniards determined, that his Catholic majesty should maintain Minorca and West-Florida, and have East-Florida added to him; and that Spain should surrender the island of Providence and the Bahamas to the English. All other conquests of territories were mutually to be restored without compensation.

C H A P. XCV.

OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

RUSSIA, altogether rude and wretched, at the beginning of the present century, has made a more rapid advance from barbarism towards civilization, than any other country in Europe. It has experienced the most sudden and remarkable change in the history of human affairs. But that change has not been attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been expected to the body
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of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a state of slavery; and notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II., who endeavours to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extends encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts in Russia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners, or by such natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are still, in some measure, exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not as Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil is not yet sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itself; and the general progress of improvement is even now very considerable. Many of the nobility and gentry have acquired a relish for polite literature, and are not only exempt from barbarism, but distinguished by humanity towards their vassals, by polished manners and elegant conversation. The citizens have tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecute assiduously the mechanical arts. Many valuable cultures, both for commerce and consumption, have been successfully introduced. And Russia, which has already produced generals and statesmen, will soon, it may be presumed, give birth to

poets, painters, historians, and philosophers, who collect in their train the whole circle of the sciences, and by blending the pleasures of life with its conveniences, perfect the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, besides other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy still reigns in all its austerity, where the king is a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark have declined in their consequence as kingdoms; but the sons of the north do not seem to be less happy, though they appear to have lost, with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independency. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence; manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made considerable progress among them; and we may lay it down as a general maxim, which will admit of few exceptions, "that every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition is altogether servile."

Nor are these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden in her Linæus, who has arranged the animal and vegetable system, and discriminated the genera and species of each, with
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all the accuracy of Aristotle, boasts the honour of having given birth to the most profound naturalist in modern times.

The state of Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone less change than any other country of equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it has been shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse the body of the people have with strangers, in time of peace, by reason of the inland situation, have preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the last century; and the constitution of the empire has varied little since the peace of Westphalia. But agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts have in the course of the present century made great progress in many parts of Germany, especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty; where the sciences and the polite arts also have flourished, under the protection of the late illustrious Frederick, who was at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms, the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He collected round him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches have been directed to the most valuable ends. And the generous spirit of the prince,

who at present fills the imperial throne, leave us no room to doubt but the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, will soon be as polished and enlightened, as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. The German tongue is already adorned with works of imagination and sentiment, and the writings of Gessner, universally admired, have been translated into more modern languages.

The Swiss, as much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil, having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts, instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, pour forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states, in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers, and preserve at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient military character; while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of liberty, who acquired its full establishment by greater and more glorious efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base, dead to all sense of a public interest,

interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The passion for gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevails. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in Holland. In such a country, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his gold; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.

Italy has acquired new lustre in the present century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature have been encouraged. If painting and architecture have continued to decline, music, and even poetry, has greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, very different from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented, as the airs are all
sung

sung by real persons, strongly agitated by the passions they express; whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effect, was sung only by cool observers. But the Italian opera, in its most perfect state, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical; though, I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it what is believed to have happened on the great theatre of the world. In order, however, to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy, in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical, which would prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio, especially when sung by a Millico or a Gabrielli.

The state of society in Spain has been greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon.

bon. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprize, have been revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste is said to have extended itself to Portugal, since the expulsion of the Jesuits out of both those kingdoms. If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would effectually overturn that hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, "That states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, must necessarily tend to decay, and either experience a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as to excite neither envy nor jealousy."

In France, society attained its highest polish before the close of the last century. But the misfortunes, which clouded the latter years of Lewis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madam de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy,

Burgundy, afterwards archbishop of Cambray, and author of the adventures of Telemachus, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety, under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the accumulated distress of the nation, occasioned by the Mississippi scheme and the disorders of the finances: and his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality that scorned the veil of decency, and unprincipled levity that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision, and a spirit of dissipation, which, amid the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Lewis XV. But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not hinder the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights.

The progress of improvement, and the enlargement of the human mind, has been very considerable in France during the present century. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the reign of Lewis
XIV.,

XIV., they have not since greatly declined, and many arts, both useful and ornamental, have been invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving in copper, which has been carried to such a degree of perfection as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper-toys; and of counterfeiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye, at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all sorts of gems. The weaving of silk has been rendered more facile, while its culture has ben extended; and a culture of still more importance to society, that of corn. Mons. Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, has made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which has already been attended with the most beneficial effects.

Nor is that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who has turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking, indeed, particularly distinguishes French literature under the reign of Lewis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns
their

their essential interests, we must place the baron de Montésquieu. This penetrating genius, who may be termed the **LEGISLATOR OF MAN**, by discovering the latent springs of government, its moving principle under all its different forms, and *spirit of laws* in each, has given to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman Helvetius, also endowed with a true philosophical genius, has attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success. Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, employs in vain his fine talents to convince mankind, "that they are all born with equal capacity, or apitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degrees in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances." But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride, and soften animosities. Nor can his generous efforts to refuse virtue from the hands of Jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by
fixing

fixing it on a solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, fail to benefit society, or his ingenuity, in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of civil causes upon the moral conduct of man, to be of use to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human characters, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the beauty and the virtues of vegetables, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from the snail and the shell-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the perfections and imperfections of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; all accompanied with such sublime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

“ Much has been written in this age,” says Voltaire, “ but genius belonged to the last.” Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the *Henriad* is inferior to the *Iliad*, it is at least
the

the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The *Zara*, the *Alzira*, the *Merope*, are equal in diction and pathos to any production of Racine; and the *Mahomet* is beyond comparison, superior to the famous *China* of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers, and that he acquired chiefly by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally superficial, and often of a pernicious tendency. His *Age of Lewis XIV.* his history of *Russia*, and of *Charles XII. of Sweden*, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his *General History* with many impertinences, yet will the *stamina* remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgement.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. To D'Alembert and Diderot French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasury of universal science the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*. Marmontel, who contributed liberally towards this great work, has farther enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philosophical than the common
 novel,

novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner, perhaps, superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire, and the romances of the son are captivating but libertine productions in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and wild display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, generally supposed to be an original. Even the idea of the much-admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the Sopha of the younger Crebillon.

C H A P. XCVI.

OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN GREAT
BRITAIN DURING THE LATTER PART OF
THE LAST, AND PRESENT CENTURY.

ARTS, manners, and literature, have made great progress in Great Britain since the glorious era of the Revolution, when our civil and religious rights

rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trifling objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning; and the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had given great offence to the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*; two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter; the one an example of close manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart, the other of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court, and the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne; when the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country.

Then

Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanburgh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less burthensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independency.

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *SPECTATOR*; which by combating with reason and ridicule, wit, humour, and delicate raillery, the faults in composition and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve

prove both. Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanburgh, so justly admirèd for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance.

Addison's Cato is a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no womanish tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is always elegant and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose writer. Swift had given a perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He had a principal share in the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, and other papers of the same kind. In those papers, he has written on an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treat-
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ed each so happily, it might be thought he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phrases, but even for images, than to any other in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose was supplied by lord Bolingbroke, who, in his *Dissertation on Parties*, his *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the strength of his master. The Letters published under the signature of Junius, have all the force and energy of Bolingbroke, with all the close and pointed expression of Swift. Robertson's style has many beauties, and the compositions of Johnson many splendid passages and deep remarks.

C H A P. XCVII.

OF MR. POPE'S POETICAL MERIT.

WHAT Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished even more fully in verse.

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His Ethical Epistles deserve to be mentioned, with signal honour, as a model of Didactic Poetry. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more especially those who had made use of rhyme; not as has been invidiously insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and cultivated ear. He seems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham, and Dryden. Denham wrote in the reign of Charles II. but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired. It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflections. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing.

“ My eye descending from the hill, surveys

“ Where Thames among the wanton vallies strays :

“ Thames, the most lov'd of all the ocean's sons

“ By his old sire, to his embraces runs;

“ Hast'ning

- "Hast'ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
 "Like mortal life, to meet eternity.
 "Though with those streams he no resemblance hold
 "Whose foam is amber, and their gravel gold,
 "His genuine and less guilty wealth t' explore,
 "Search not his bottom, but survey his shore."

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham's versification, but he saw it necessary to look nearer his own time for a master; and he found such a master as he sought in Dryden; who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, was added a compass of verse, and an energy that is entirely his own. He accordingly made the versification of Drydens his model, and if he has not fully equalled the fire of *Absalom and Achitophel*, or the easy and animated flow of the Fables of his master, the collected force and finer polish of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold imagery, entitle him to all the praise that can possibly belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority; while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expression, more sensibility of heart, and greater elevation of mind, with a closer attention to natural and moral objects, gave him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame.

One can scarce think that Pope was capable of Epic or Tragic Poetry; but within a certain limited region, he has been outdone by no Poet. His translation of the Iliad will remain a lasting monument to his honour, as the most elegant and highly finished translation that, perhaps, ever was given of any poetical work.

That he was not incapable of tender Poetry, appears from the epistle of Eloisa to Abelard, and from the verses to the memory of an Unfortunate Lady, which are almost his only sentimental productions; and which indeed are excellent in their kind. But the qualities for which he is chiefly distinguished are, judgement and wit, with a concise and happy expression, and a melodious versification. Few Poets ever had more wit, and at the same time more judgement, to direct the proper employment of that wit. This renders his Rape of the Lock the greatest master-piece that perhaps was ever composed, in the gay and sprightly style; and in his serious works, such as his Essay on Man, and his Ethic Epistles, his wit just discovers itself as much, as to give a proper seasoning to grave reflections.

His imitations of Horace are so peculiarly happy, that one is at loss, whether most to admire the original, or the copy; and they are among the

few imitations extant, that have all the grace and ease of an original. His paintings of characters are natural and lively in a high degree; and never was any Writer so happy in that concise spirited style, which gives animation to Satires and Epistles. We are never so sensible of the good effects of rhyme in English verse, as in reading these parts of his works. We see it adding to the style, an elevation which otherwise it could not have possessed; while at the same time he manages it so artfully, that it never appears in the least to encumber him; but, on the contrary, serves to increase the liveliness of his manner. He tells us himself, that he could express moral observations more concisely, and therefore more forcibly, in rhyme, than he could do in prose.

If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally concludes the sense with the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts, and strength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when often repeated, and becomes altogether cloying in long poems, but especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself, could not escape the correct taste and keen dis-

cernment of Pope: we accordingly find in his translation of Homer, where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable, as well as in his lighter pieces, a more free and varied versification.

Goldsmith's Traveller, though a beautiful poem, affords some instances of the same fault. His Deserted Village is a close, but happy imitation of Pope's best manner. If any author has recovered the freedom of Dryden, without losing the harmony or the force of Pope, it is Mickle, in some parts of his excellent translation of the Lusiad.

C H A P. XCVIII.

OF THE PASTORAL POETRY OF POPE, PHILLIPS, SHENSTONE, AND ALLAN RAMSAY.

NEITHER Mr. Pope's, nor Mr. Phillips' Pastorals, do any great honour to the English Poetry. Mr. Pope's were composed in his youth; which may be an apology for other faults, but cannot well excuse the barrenness that appears in them. They are written in remarkably smooth and flowing numbers: and this is their chief merit;
for

for there is scarcely any thought in them which can be called his own; scarcely any description, or any image of nature, which has the marks of being original, or copied from nature itself; but a repetition of the common images that are to be found in Virgil, and in all Poets who write of rural themes.

Philips attempted to be more simple and natural than Pope; but he wanted genius to support his attempt, or to write agreeably. He too runs on the common and beaten topics; and endeavouring to be simple, he becomes flat and insipid. There was no small competition between these two Authors, at the time when their Pastorals were published. In some papers of the *Guardian*, great partiality was shown to Philips, and high praise bestowed upon him. Mr. Pope, resenting this preference, under a feigned name procured a Paper to be inserted in the *Guardian*, wherein he seemingly carries on the plan of extolling Philips; but in reality satirises him most severely with ironical praises; and, in an artful covered manner, gives the palm to himself. About the same time, Mr. Gay published his *Shepherds Week*, in six Pastorals, which are designed to ridicule that sort of simplicity which Philips and his partizans extolled, and are, indeed, an ingenius burlesque of Pastoral

ral Writing, when it rises no higher than the manners of modern clowns and rustics.

Mr. Shenstone's ballad, in four parts, may justly be reckoned, I think, one of the most elegant Poems of this kind, which we have in English. He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly acquainted. It represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect, it does not differ materially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not have been ashamed to own the following elegant passages.

" One would think she might like to retire

" To the bow'r I have labour'd to rear;

" Not a shrub that I heard her admire,

" But I hasten'd and planted it there,

" O how sudden the jessamine strove

" With the lilac to render it gay!

" Already it calls for my love,

" To prune the wild branches away.

" I have found out a gift for my fair:

" I have found where the wood-pigeons breed;

" But let me that plunder forbear,

" She will say 'twas a barbarous deed,

" For he ne'er could be true, she aver'd,

" Who could rob a poor bird of its young;

" And I lov'd her the more when I heard

" Such tenderness fall from her tongue.

" I have

" I have heard her with sweetness unfold

" How that pity was due to a dove,

" That it ever attended the bold,

" And she call'd it the sister of love,

" But her words such a pleasure convey,

" So much I her accents adore,

" Let her speak, and whatever she say,

" Methinks I should love her the more.

" Can a bosom so gentle remain

" Unmov'd when her Corydon sighs !

" Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,

" These plains and this valley despise ?

" Dear regions of silence and shade,

" Soft scenes of contentment and ease !

" Where I could have pleasingly stray'd,

" If aught, in her absence, could please.

" But where does my Phyllida stray ?

" And where are her grotts and her bow'rs ?

" Are the groves and the valleys as gay,

" And the shepherds as gentle as ours ?

" The groves may perhaps be as fair,

" And the face of the valleys as fine ;

" The swains may in manners compare,

" But their love is not equal to mine."

I must not omit the mention of another Pastoral Production, which will bear being brought into comparison with any composition of this kind, in any language ; that is, Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. It is a great disadvantage to this beau-

tiful Poem, that it is written in the old rustic dialect of Scotland, which, in a short time, will probably be entirely obsolete, and not intelligible; and it is a farther disadvantage, that it is so entirely formed on the rural manners of Scotland, that none but a native of that country can thoroughly understand, or relish it. But though subject to these local disadvantages, which confine its reputation within narrow limits, it is full of so much natural description, as would do honour to any Poet. The characters are well drawn, the incidents affecting; the scenery and manners lively and just. It affords a strong proof, both of the power which nature and simplicity possess, to reach the heart in every sort of writing; and of the variety of pleasing characters and subjects, with which Pastoral Poetry, when properly managed, is capable of being enlivened.

C H A P. XCIX.

OF THOMSON, PARNELL, AKENSIDE, AND
ARMSTRONG.

OF all professed descriptive composition, says Dr. Blair, the largest and fullest that I am acquainted

quainted with, in any language, is Mr. Thomson's Seasons; a work which possesses very uncommon merit. The style in the midst of much splendor and strength, is sometimes harsh, and may be censured as deficient in ease and distinctness. But, notwithstanding this effect, Thomson is a strong and a beautiful describer; for he had a feeling heart, and a warm imagination. He had studied, and copied nature with care. Enamoured of her beauties, he not only described them properly, but felt their impression with strong sensibility. The impression which he felt, he transmits to his readers; and no person of taste can peruse any one of his Seasons, without having the ideas and feelings which belong to that season, recalled, and rendered present to his mind. Several instances of most beautiful description might be given from him; such as, the shower in the spring, the morning in summer, and the man perishing in snow in winter. But, at present, I shall produce a passage of another kind, to show the power of a single well-chosen circumstance, to heighten a description. In his summer, relating the effects of heat in the torrid zone, he is led to take notice of the pestilence that destroyed the English fleet, at Carthage, under Admiral Vernon; when he has the following lines:

——— “You, gallant Vernon, saw
 “ The miserable scene; you pitying saw
 “ To-infant weakness sunk the warrior’s arm;
 “ Saw the deep racking pang; the ghastly form,
 “ The lip pale quiv’ring; and the beamless eye
 “ No more with ardour bright; you heard the groans
 “ Of agonizing ships from shore to shore;
 “ Heard nightly plunged, amid the sullen waves,
 “ The frequent corse.”——

All the circumstances here are properly chosen, for setting this dismal scene in a strong light before our eyes. But what is most striking in the picture, is the last image. We are conducted through all the scenes of distress, till we come to the mortality prevailing in the fleet, which a vulgar Poet would have described by exaggerated expressions, concerning the multiplied trophies and victories of death. But, how much more is the imagination impressed by this single circumstance, of dead bodies being thrown overboard every night; of the sound of their falling into the waters, and of the Admiral listening to the melancholy sound, so often striking his ear?

“ Heard nightly plunged, amid the sullen waves,
 “ The frequent corse.”——

The eulogium which Dr. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, give of Thomson, is high, and very just.

just. " As a Writer, he is entitled to one praise of the highest kind; his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His Blank Verse is no more the Blank Verse of Milton, or any other Poet, than the Rhymes of Prior are the Rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he thinks always as a man of genius. He looks round on nature and life, with the eye which nature bestows only on a Poet; the eye that distinguishes in every thing presented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained; and with a mind, that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the Seasons wonders that he never saw before what Thompson shews him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses. His descriptions of extended scenes, and general effects, bring before us the whole magnificence of nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of Spring, the splendour of Summer, the tranquillity of Autumn, and the horror of Winter, take in their turn, possession of the mind. The Poet leads us through the appearances of things, as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year, and imparts to us so much

much of his own enthusiasm, that our thoughts expand with his imagery, and kindle with his sentiments."

Mr. Parnell's Tale of the Hermit, is conspicuous, throughout the whole of it, for beautiful Descriptive Narration. The manner of the Hermit's setting forth to visit the world; his meeting with a companion, and the houses in which they are successively entertained, of the vain man, the covetuous man, and the good man, are pieces of very fine painting, touched with a light and delicate pencil, overcharged with no superfluous colouring, and conveying to us a lively idea of the objects.

Akenfide, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly philosophic eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us, in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of taste, unfolded in all the majesty of Miltonic verse.

Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and like Akenfide a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a very valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*, and furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, perhaps, in the same species

species of verse, than either the *Seasons*, or the *Pleasures of Imagination*.

While blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish, and descriptive and didactic poetry approaching towards perfection, the lighter walks of the Muse were not neglected. Akenfide, not satisfied with rivaling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar; and although he has not perhaps equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the grandeur, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves much praise for having given us the first classical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language than the following, in his Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

-
- “ Propitious Muse!
 “ While I so late unlock thy hallowed springs,
 “ And breathe whate’er thine ancient airs infuse
 “ To polish Albion’s warlike ear,
 “ This long-lost melody to hear
 “ Thy sweetest arts employ;
 “ As when the winds from shore to shore
 “ Through Greece thy Lyre’s persuasive language bore,
 “ Till towns, and isles, and seas returned the vocal joy.”

C H A P. C.

OF HAMMOND AND GRAY.

ABOUT the same time that Akenfide was perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verses, by Hammond; a man of taste and sensibility, who has successfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and given to his amorous solicitations a soft melancholy entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations.

“ With thee I hop’d to waste the pleasing day,
 “ Till in thine arms an age of joy was past;
 “ Then, old with love, insensibly decay,
 “ And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.

“ I scorn the Lydian river’s golden wave,
 “ And all the vulgar charms of human life;
 “ I only ask to live my Delia’s slave;
 “ And when I long have serv’d her,—call her wife.”

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence; but particularly by Gray, in his celebrated Elegy
 in

in a *Country Church Yard*, and by Shenstone in those excellent moral elegies, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart.

CH A P. CI.

OF FIELDING, SMOLLET, RICHARDSON, HUME,
AND ROBERTSON.

A ZEALOUS and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the *Comic Romance* by Fielding and Smollet, who have painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of expression, and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire. Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the *Modern Epic*, or the *Epic of Civil Life*; as it exhibits, in an extended, and artfully-constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly-delineated characters, under the influence

influence of different passions, and engaged in different pursuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits.

The principal performances of these writers, under the well-known names of *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, and *Clarissa*, seemed for a time wholly to engage the attention, and even to turn the heads, of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Hume and Robertson appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, “that real incidents, properly selected and disposed, setting aside the idea of utility, and real characters delineated with truth and force, can more strongly interest both the mind and the heart, than any fabulous narration.” This taste, which has since given birth to many other elegant historical productions, happily continues to gain ground.

C H A P. CII.

OF MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.

AS soon as we open this amazing Performance, we find ourselves introduced all at once into an invisible world, and surrounded with celestial and infernal beings. Angels and devils are not the machinery, but principal actors, in the Poem; and what, in any other composition would be the marvellous, is here only the natural course of events. A subject so remote from the affairs of this world may furnish ground to those who think such discussions material, to bring it into doubt, whether Paradise Lost can properly be classed among Epic Poems. By whatever name it is to be called, it is undoubtedly one of the highest efforts of poetical genius; and in one great characteristic of the Epic Poem, majesty and sublimity, it is fully equal to any that bear that name.

How far the Author was altogether happy in the choice of his subject, may be questioned. It has led him into very difficult ground. Had he taken a subject that was more human, and less theological;

theological; that was more connected with the occurrences of life, and afforded a greater display of the characters and passions of men, his Poem would, perhaps, have, to the bulk of Readers, been more pleasing and attractive. But the subject which he has chosen, suited the daring sublimity of his genius. It is a subject for which Milton alone was fitted; and in the conduct of it, he has shown a sketch both of imagination, and invention, which is perfectly wonderful. It is astonishing how, from the few hints given us in the Sacred Scriptures, he was able to raise so complete and regular a structure; and to fill his Poem with such a variety of incidents. Dry and harsh passages sometimes occur. The Author appears, upon some occasions, a Metaphysician and a Divine, rather than a Poet. But the general tenor of his work is interesting; he seizes and fixes the imagination; engages, elevates, and affects us as we proceed; which is always a sure test of merit in an Epic composition. The artful change of his objects; the scene laid now in Earth, now in Hell, and now in Heaven, affords a sufficient diversity; while unity of plan is, at the same time, perfectly supported. We have still life, and calm scenes, in the employments of Adam and Eve in Paradise; and we have busy scenes,

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and great actions, in the enterprize of Satan, and the wars of the Angels. The innocence, purity, and amiableness of our first parents, opposed to the pride and ambition of Satan, furnishes a happy contrast, that reigns throughout the whole Poem; only the conclusion is too tragic for Epic Poetry.

The nature of the subject did not admit any great display of characters; but such as could be introduced, are supported with much propriety. Satan, in particular, makes a striking figure, and is, indeed, the best-drawn character in the Poem. Milton has not described him, such as we suppose an infernal spirit to be. He has, more suitably to his own purpose, given him a human, that is, a mixed character, not altogether void of some good qualities. He is brave and faithful to his troops. In the midst of his impiety, he is not without remorse. He is even touched with pity for our first parents; and justifies himself in his design against them, from the necessity of his situation. He is actuated by ambition and resentment, rather than by pure malice. In short, Milton's Satan is no worse than many a conspirator or factious chief, that makes a figure in history. The different characters of Beelzebub, Moloch, Belial, are exceedingly well painted in those eloquent speeches which they make, in the Second Book.

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The good Angels, though always described with dignity and propriety, have more uniformity than the Infernal Spirits, in their appearance; though among them, too, the dignity of Michael, the mild condescension of Raphael, and the tried fidelity of Abdiel, form proper characteristical distinctions. The attempt to describe God Almighty himself, and to recount dialogues between the Father and the Son, was too bold and arduous, and is that wherein our Poet, as was to have been expected, has been most unsuccessful. With regard to his human characters; the innocence of our first parents, and their love, are finely and delicately painted. In some of his speeches to Raphael and to Eve, Adam is, perhaps, too knowing and refined for his situation. Eve is more distinctly characterised. Her gentleness, modesty, and frailty, mark very expressively a female character.

Milton's great and distinguished excellence is, his sublimity. In this, perhaps, he excels Homer; as there is no doubt of his leaving Virgil, and every other Poet, far behind him. Almost the whole of the First and Second Books of *Paradise Lost* are continued instances of the sublime. The prospect of Hell and of the fallen Host, the appearance and behaviour of Satan, the consultation,

tion of the infernal chiefs, and Satan's flight through Chaos to the borders of this world, discover the most lofty ideas that ever entered into the conception of any Poet. In the Sixth Book also, there is much grandeur, particularly in the appearance of the Messiah; though some parts of that book are censurable; and the witticisms of the Devils upon the effect of their artillery, form an intolerable blemish. Milton's sublimity is of a different kind from that of Homer. Homer's is generally accompanied with fire and impetuosity; Milton's possesses more of a calm and amazing grandeur. Homer warms and hurries us along; Milton fixes us in a state of astonishment and elevation. Homer's sublimity appears most in the description of actions; Milton's, in that of wonderful and stupendous objects.

But though Milton is most distinguished for his sublimity, yet there is also much of the beautiful, the tender, and the pleasing, in many parts of his work. When the scene is laid in Paradise, the imagery is always of the most gay and smiling kind. His descriptions show an uncommonly fertile imagination; and in his similes, he is, for the most part, remarkably happy. They are seldom improperly introduced; seldom either low, or trite. They generally present to us images

taken from the sublime or the beautiful class of objects; if they have any faults, it is their alluding too frequently to matters of learning, and to fables of antiquity. In the latter part of *Paradise Lost*, there must be confessed to be a falling off. With the fall of our first parents, Milton's genius seems to decline. Beauties, however, there are, in the concluding Books of the tragic kind. The remorse and contrition of the guilty pair, and their lamentations over *Paradise*, when they are obliged to leave it, are very moving.

————— “ Adam at the news

“ Heart-struck with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
 “ That all his senses bound : Eve, who unseen
 “ Yet all had heard, with audible lament
 “ Discovered soon the place of her retreat.

“ O Unexpected stroke, worse than of death !
 “ Must I thus leave thee, *Paradise* ? thus leave
 “ Thee, native soil, these happy walks and shades,
 “ Fit haunt of Gods ? where I had hope to spend,
 “ Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
 “ That must be mortal to us both. O Flowers,
 “ That never will in other climate grow,
 “ My early visitation and my last
 “ At ev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
 “ From the first op'ning bud, and gave you names,
 “ Who now shall rear you to the sun, or rank
 “ Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial font ?

“ Thee

- " Thee lastly, nuptial bow'r, by me adorn'd
 " With what to sight or smell was sweet, from thee
 " How shall I part, and whither wander down
 " Into a lower world, to this obscure
 " And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
 " Less pure, accusom'd to immortal fruits?"

The last Episode, too, of the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity, is happily imagined; but, in many places, the execution is languid.

Milton's language and versification have high merit. His style is full of majesty, and wonderfully adapted to his subject. His blank verse is harmonious and diversified, and affords the most complete example of the elevation which our language is capable of attaining by the force of numbers. It does not flow like the French verse, in tame, regular, uniform melody, which soon tires the ear; but is sometimes smooth and flowing, sometimes rough; varied in its cadence, and intermixed with discords, so as to suit the strength and freedom of Epic composition. Neglected and prosaic lines, indeed, we sometimes meet with; but in a work so long, and in the main so harmonious, these may be forgiven.

On the whole, *Paradise Lost* is a poem that abounds with beauties of every kind, and that

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justly entitles its Author to a degree of fame not inferior to any Poet; though it must be also admitted to have many inequalities. It is the lot of almost every high and daring genius, not to be uniform and correct. Milton is too frequently theological and metaphysical; sometimes harsh in his language; often too technical in his words, and affectedly ostentatious of his learning. Many of his faults must be attributed to the pedantry of the age in which he lived. He discovers a vigour, a grasp of genius equal to every thing that is great; if at some times he falls much below himself, at other times he rises above every Poet of the ancient or modern world.

C H A P. CIII.

OF SHAKESPEARE.

THE character which Dryden has drawn of Shakespeare, is not only just, but uncommonly elegant and happy. "He was the man, who of all modern, and perhaps ancient Poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the

images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily. When he describes any thing, you more than see it; you feel it too. They who accuse him of wanting learning, give him the greatest commendation. He was naturally learned. He needed not the spectacles of Books to read Nature. He looked inward, and found her there, I cannot say he is every where alike. Were he so, I should do him injury, to compare him to the greatest of mankind. He is many times flat and insipid; his comic wit degenerating into clenches; his serious swelling into bombast. But he is always great, when some great occasion is presented to him."

Great he may be justly called, as the extent and force of his natural genius, both for Tragedy and Comedy, are altogether unrivaled. But, at the same time, it is a genius shooting wild; deficient in just taste, and altogether unassisted by knowledge or art. Long has he been idolized by the British nation; much has been said, and much has been written concerning him; Criticism has been drawn to the very dregs, in commentaries upon his words and witticisms; and yet it remains, to this day, in doubt, whether his beauties, or his faults, be greatest. Admirable scenes, and passages without number, there are in his Plays;

passages beyond what are to be found in any other Dramatic Writer; but there is hardly any one of his Plays which can be called altogether a good one, or which can be read with uninterrupted pleasure from beginning to end. Besides extreme irregularities in conduct, and grotesque mixtures of serious and comic in one piece, we are often interrupted by unnatural thoughts, harsh expressions, a certain obscure bombast, and a play upon words, which he is fond of pursuing; and these interruptions to our pleasure too frequently occur, on occasions when we would least wish to meet with them. All these faults, however, Shakespeare redeems, by two of the greatest excellencies which any Tragic Poet can possess; his lively and diversified paintings of character; his strong and natural expressions of passion. These are his two chief virtues; on these his merit rests. Notwithstanding his many absurdities, all the while we are reading his Plays, we find ourselves in the midst of our fellows; we meet with men vulgar perhaps in their manners, coarse or harsh in their sentiments, but still they are men; they speak with human voices, and are actuated by human passions; we are interested in what they say or do, because we feel that they are of the same nature with ourselves. It is therefore no matter of wonder, that

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from the more polished and regular, but more cold and artificial performances of other Poets, the Public should return with pleasure to such warm and genuine representations of human nature. Shakespeare possesses likewise the merit of having created for himself, a sort of world of præter-natural beings. His witches, ghosts, fairies, and spirits of all kinds, are described with such circumstances of awful and mysterious solemnity, and speak a language so peculiar to themselves, as strongly to affect the imagination. His two master-pieces, and in which the strength of his genius chiefly appears, are Othello and Macbeth.

With regard to his historical plays, they are, properly speaking, neither Tragedies nor Comedies; but a peculiar species of Dramatic Entertainment, calculated to describe the manners of the times of which he treats, to exhibit the principal characters, and to fix our imagination on the most interesting events and revolutions of our own country.

C H A P. CIV.

OF SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, STATUARY,
PAINTING, AND ENGRAVING.

OUR sepulchral monuments, at the close of the last century, were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who have since adorned Westminster-Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of Ancient Greece, also were foreigners.

We were more fortunate in native architects. Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself in Sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and St. Stephen's Walbroke, to say nothing of his other great designs, of Greenwich Hospital, or the Palace of Hampton Court. Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkam, the seat of the earl of Leicester, in Norfolk,

folk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent has been greatly exceeded, as an architect, by Sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others, who have adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity; who have united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgot, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriars bridge, a work to which antiquity can offer no parallel. We have at present native statuary of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollikens have yet produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach, Scheemaker's Shakespeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac.

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copy *low life*, or debase it into farce, and below the best Italian painters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature, as far as it was possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, HE delineates, like Fielding and Smollet, the ludicrous features of *middling life*, with as much truth, and force as either, and with a more direct view

view to a moral purpose. Those who are in doubt about this matter need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage a la Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order. As the most excellent of these are now living, I shall not enter into a particular estimate of their merit; but observe in general, that if they have not attained all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, they have made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they have given second life to heroes and legislators. They have made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts. They have painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm that Copley's *Earl of Chatham*, West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of Reynolds' *Ugolino*, fill the mind with nobler ideas than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave, that kneeled at the altar of superstition.

Fortunately

Fortunately for the lovers of embellishment, engraving, of which painting may be said to be the prototype, has not made less progress in England during the present century than the present art. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great. Besides, they are very liable to be injured by time or accident. Hence the utility of engraving in plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its representations, if less perfect than those of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and also of many of those of the greatest Italian masters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we must ever place Strange and Woollett. The first excels chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landscape. They have both, at present, several formidable rivals in every branch of the art, and the late unhappy Ryland was perhaps equal to either.

Among the improvements of the present century, we may also reckon the great perfection to which the printing of linen and cotton cloths has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty those of India, and of paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and satin, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought we to omit the
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taste and fancy displayed in the patterns of our figured silks, or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours

C H A P. CV.

OF GARDENING.

MODERN gardening, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, disposed like colours upon a canvas, is of English origin, unless we should allow the Chinese to come in for a share of the honour of the invention. For this art, which was altogether unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* nature, or more properly speaking, *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure grounds, instead of impressing upon every object the hard stamp of art; that the perfection of gardening, like that of moral culture, consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining
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or disguising nature; consequently, that straight walks, regular parterres, circular and square pieces of water, and trees cut in the shape of animals, are utterly inconsistent with true taste. In a word, the whole secret of modern gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery, wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture, so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground, and in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country; in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower, the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

The man who first threw down the garden wall, and sunk the fosse, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly said to have broke the spell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damsel Nature so long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itself with utility, and grandeur with rustic labour; the pleasure ground with the pastured and cultivated field, the gravel walk with the public road, and the garden

den lake with the navigable canal and the sea;
that glorious fountain of universal communication
among men, which enables the philosopher, the
merchant, and the mariner, to visit every shore,
and makes all things common to all.



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